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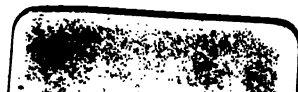
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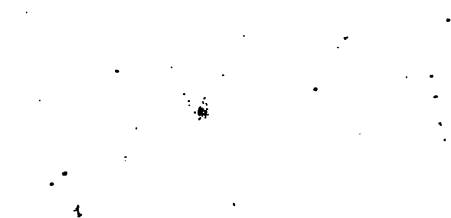
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HISTORICAL OUTLINES
OF THE
RISE AND ESTABLISHMENT
OF THE
PAPAL POWER.

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HISTORICAL OUTLINES
OF THE
RISE AND ESTABLISHMENT
OF THE
PAPAL POWER;
ADDRESSED TO THE
ROMAN CATHOLIC PRIESTS
OF
IRELAND.

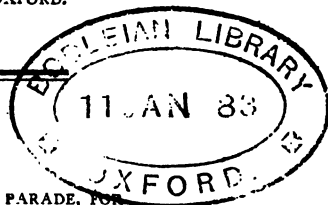


BY HENRY CARD,
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INTRODUCTION.

THE divided state of Ireland is a theme familiar to all description of ranks. Unavailing as yet have been the remedies, though applied by men of distinguished talents and abilities, to produce that happy change in the character and genius of the adherents to the papal see in Ireland, which should lead them to think the British government disposed to communicate to them such institutions, as have a decisive tendency to render liberty and property secure, and industry flourishing. But that opposite opinions have been cherished, and propagated with

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a fatal

a fatal fondness, among that class of people, especially the lower orders, none will attempt to deny, who think upon the events which have recently happened in Ireland, with any steadiness of judgment.

Among those, it is said, who have blown the horn of discontent to their fellow subjects in that country, are the priests of the Romish persuasion. Were a man to judge of their religious and political principles from the Letters of the Lord Chancellor of Ireland to the Earl of Fingall, might he not draw the following character of them, without having it suspected that he was hurried into any excesses of personal animosity or malevolence from the zeal of party. Led from inclination, as well as policy, to a social intercourse with their flocks, accustomed to consider every thing as subordinate

ordinate to the advancement of their religion, habitually meddling, of abilities both natural and acquired, peculiarly adapted to work on the fears of the superstitious, but of contracted habits of thought, and utterly incapable of embracing any comprehensive notions of charity, they possess and exercise a dominion over the minds and sentiments of their congregations, impossible to be felt, and difficult to be believed by those, who are only acquainted with the connection between the clergy of England and their flocks. It appears there are some furious fanatics among them, who, in their undistinguishing spirit of hostility to those of a different persuasion, can so far forget the example of the great author of the christian religion, with the rules and precepts he prescribes, and so far degrade the dignity of man, as to expect reward for scattering the seeds of dis-

cord, and to seek for happiness in the desolation of their own species.

If any honesty can be allowed to Lord Redesdale as a man, any discernment as a statesman (and his upright mind and political sagacity have never been questioned, even by his enemies, till the publication of his correspondence with the Earl of Fingall), an impartial spectator may be justified in concluding, that the peace of Ireland has been disturbed by those priests who profess an obedience, in matters of faith, to the papal church. But without professing an implicit belief of all Lord Redesdale's accusations against them ; without stepping forth with the gallantry of a volunteer to support his opinions, I must be allowed to think, that the Chancellor of Ireland never would have hazarded the following assertion, if he could not have established it

it

it by such a body of facts, that even the catholic priests themselves cannot call it an infamous aspersion upon their conduct. " They are given to the winds (his lordship is speaking of addresses of a loyal tendency), as long as the priests of the See of Rome, shall think fit to hold up to their flocks, that all who do not yield obedience to that See, are guilty of rebellion against it; are not to be considered as members of the church of Christ, and therefore are not (in the eyes of the vulgar at least) to be considered as christians. I am fully persuaded, that those who listen to their doctrines will never bear christian charity towards those who are so represented, and will never be loyal and dutiful subjects of a king, thus held out to them as himself a rebel *."

* See Letter III. of the Correspondence.

When

When we therefore consider that the Roman catholics form a decisive majority of the Irish, this assertion is of the most serious and alarming nature, for no human wisdom can foresee to what extent their priests may carry their persuasions, and what pernicious consequences may be produced from them, if some remedies are not resorted to, which shall expose to their auditors the futility of their arguments. One of them, I think, may be fairly attempted, by laying before the Roman catholic people an impartial *View of the Rise and Establishment of the Papal Power* *. My chief object, in so doing, is to shew the Roman catholics of Ireland (to all orders I am now speaking), from

* The reader will observe that notes accompany the text of this work ;—but I shall be believed by the candid, when I declare their insertion was made for the advantage of having my fidelity examined, at least before questioned,

the sole evidence of history, the "testis temporum, lux veritatis, vita memoriæ, magistra vitæ, nuntia vetustatis," to quote the forcible expressions of that most enlightened of heathen statesmen and philosophers Cicero *, upon what weak foundations the high pretensions of the popes to a divine authority stand, what extravagant impositions these self-created successors of St. Peter have practised on the ignorance and superstition of early ages, what bigotted prejudices transmitted, and therefore how unbecoming and injurious to the moral character and capacities of those who still adhere to their doctrines, it is to view all such as enemies, who are not enlisted under the same religious standard.

It is an article in the church of England, highly to be commended for its

* De Oratore lib. ii. cap. x.

liberality and wisdom, that the scriptures contain a complete rule of faith and practice, and that no doctrine is to be considered as essential to salvation, or to be obeyed as divine; which is not supported by their authority. Let then the catholic priests, in *their* profession of religious faith, aspire to imitate a tenet, which breathes such a pure spirit of benevolence and justice. Let them reflect, on beholding what a superstructure of vile materials their popes have so absurdly and profanely raised on the ground-work of the gospel, that he really approaches nearest to the character of the true christian, whose love and charity to his fellow creatures are not checked or destroyed by any diversity of religious opinion. When they adopt such sentiments, then will protestants be no longer objects of their aversion, then will they be sensible of our good offices, and cultivate,
with

with purer ardour than they have hitherto done, the amiable virtues of peace and moderation, and no longer be accused of spreading the poison of discontent throughout a country, inseparably united to Great Britain by the ties of interest, honour, gratitude, and affection.

Of all undertakings, that is the most invidious, and consequently liable to the severest animadversion, which attaches any blame to a collective body of men. But if the priests of Ireland, adhering to the papal see, teach their followers, that they alone are entitled to the particular superintendence of God, and are to be considered as exclusively members of the church of Christ, a candid recitation of facts, to refute their reasonings, may not be deemed, by the public, altogether

ther unworthy of their attention. Were the condition of the present times less critical and important, such doctrines might be delivered, perhaps, with no other injurious effect, than that of bewildering more than ever those who pay them attention in the dark mazes of superstition ; but now they may give birth to events which may produce such afflicting scenes in their country, as no honest or loyal man would wish to survive. While it must be obvious to the meanest capacity that such doctrines do not point the road to catholic emancipation.

Far be it from my design to insult, by these observations, a people, whose numerous virtues command our respect, and whose misery of situation so greatly claims our compassion : nor would I like
some,

some, be supposed to insinuate, that the Roman catholic priests are in their hearts avowedly hostile to the laws and constitution of this country. As christians I only address them, and as ministers of that religion whose striking characteristic is universal charity; I appeal to their learning, if it be not much better to relinquish the doctrine of holding themselves the sole members of the church of Chirst, which originally proceeding from extreme ignorance and superstition, now bears on the face of it such monstrous absurdity and falshood, that, if still pertinaciously maintained, it cannot fail, in the end, of impairing all liberality and patriotism.

If there ever was a period, when all religious animosities and dissensions should be extinguished; when all christians, of

every denomination, should be united in the firm bonds of brotherhood, and the flame of patriotism burn in each breast, with an unquenchable ardour, it is the present; and could that man exist, who has been so little warned by the disastrous fate of other nations, so little benefited by experience, and persuaded by argument, as to be weak and base enough to feel no real attachment to the country to which he has the happiness to belong, he need only turn his eyes to the prospect she at this moment presents to the world, and which excites the unfeigned admiration of every civilized state, to be shamed at once into reason and loyalty.

While menaced by a foe, whose gigantic resources, and matchless perfidies at once awe and confound the great continental

mental powers, behold in one view England the seat of liberty, of sciences, and of arts, daily increasing in public strength and national prosperity ; her king, whose christian fortitude shines with such unexampled lustre in this hour of danger, so universally revered, that all pious men are willing to persuade themselves his life is the peculiar care of heaven ; her fleets triumphant in every quarter of the globe ; her armies practised in discipline, and familiarized to victory, and in the defence of her religion, laws, honour, and glory, the great mass of her people standing forth, with that magnanimous spirit, and ardent enthusiasm (of which there is no parallel in the annals of her history): *Now* God be thanked, with the immediate prospect of being directed by men of such acknowledged wisdom and firmness, that not a particle of our energies

gies will be lost; while under the sagacity, vigour, and boldness of their measures, we may confidently indulge the proud hope, that perils of the most terrible nature will be no sooner faced than repelled, and that we shall not only transmit to our descendants their native independence unimpaired, and unpolluted by any foreign despot, but steadily and gloriously persevere in this mighty contest, till we have once more restored order, justice, and concord to Europe.

“ Nought shall make us rue,

“ If England to itself do rest but true.”

SHAKSPEARE, *King John*, Act V. Scene vii.

Let not then history have to record,
and posterity to lament, that the catholic
priests of Ireland were so blind to the
real interests of their flocks, or so dead
to

to the call of honour, as to contemplate this glorious scene with a lukewarm indifference, but rather may the pastors themselves exclaim, and instruct their flocks, (grateful to providence, for casting their existence in so free, great, and happy an empire), to join in the patriotic words of Father Paul,

“Esto perpetua, Esto perpetua.”



ERRATA.

- Page x. note, before questioned, *r.* before it is questioned.
- 9, l. 13, note 11, *quæstui*, *r.* *quæstui*.
 - 12, l. 7, *exarch*, *r.* *exarchs*.
 - 18, l. 8, *legal*, *r.* *regal*.
 - 36, l. 2, *pope*, *r.* *popes*.
 - 40, l. 6, *an*, *r.* *an*.
 - 80, l. 12, note 49, *sauviter*, *r.* *suaviter*.
 - 121, l. 3, No sooner than he was, *r.* no sooner was he.
 - 129, l. 21, was the, *r.* was of the.
 - 136, l. 5, *monarch*, *r.* *priest*.

HISTORICAL OUTLINES
OF THE
RISE AND ESTABLISHMENT
OF THE
PAPAL POWER.

UPON an attentive survey of the annals of Europe, there will be found few princes, who have arisen to greater plenitude of dominion, from devices more fraudulent, and stations more humble, than the Pontiffs of Rome. The seventh century, in which Boniface the third assumed the title of *œcumenical, or universal bishop*¹ (a title considered three years before his pontificate, by the

¹ See Barónius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, Antw. 1600, tom. viii. p. 198. Ad Annum. 606. Anastatius, surnamed the Bibliothecarian, another son of superstition, who devoted his life to the service of the papal see, may be almost said to confirm the words of the cardinal in this sentence; “Hic (Boniface) obtinuit apud Phocam principem, ut sedes Apostolica beati Petri apostoli caput esset omnium Ecclesiarum id est Ecclesia Romana, quia Ecclesia Constantinopolitana primam se omnium Ecclesiarum scribebat.” De Vitis Pontificum Rom. 1718, tom. i. p. 117.

the first and greatest of the Gregorys, as the distinguishing mark of the *Antichrist*², and rejected with the deepest abhorrence by his wisdom and piety), has been too hastily fixed, by some writers, as the æra from whence we must date the first visible attempts of the popes to enlarge their ecclesiastical authority beyond the circle of true reason and religion.

But if we carry our researches to an earlier period in the papal history, it will be clearly perceived, however preposterous and exorbitant was the authority which Boniface assumed from that title³, that the overgrown spiritual power of the Roman church

After this manner Platina, the follower of Anastatius, commemorates this bold step of papal ambition, *Vitæ Pontificum ad Sixtum IV.* 1479, p. 60. See likewise upon this subject, Paulus Diaconus de origine et gestis Langobardorum, par. 1514, lib. iv. cap. xi. Sigebert, *Chronicon*, Par. apud Steph. 1513. Ad Ann. 607, p. 35. Sigonius *Historia de Regno Italiæ*, Franc. 1575, lib. ii. p. 31.

² It is curious enough to observe in the epistles of Gregory the horror and indignation which he displayed, when the patriarch of Constantinople took the title of universal bishop; and these remarkable and decisive words, I should think, would operate like basilisks to the eyes of orthodox Catholics. "*Ego autem fidenter dico;—it is the pope himself who speaks;—quod quisquis se universalem Sacerdotem vocat, vel vocari desiderat, in elatione suâ, Antichristum præcurrit, quia superbiendo se cæteris præponit.*" Gregorii, *Opera*, Par. 1533, lib. vi. i Epist. 30. p. 410.

³ We may conclude that it was after he had received this title from the cruel usurper Phocas (see a masterly delineation of his

Church primarily originated from the Decretals ; the artificial texture of which, before the age of pope Syricius, has been fully unravelled by the industrious hand of a convert ⁴ to the protestant religion. It may perhaps be admitted, that, before the fourth century, no regular system of policy can be traced by which the holy see sought to propagate and

his character in Gibbon, oct. edit. vol. viii. p. 206—216), that he assembled a synod of seventy-two bishops, thirty presbyters, and three deacons, in which it was decreed, among other things, that from this time the election of every bishop should be deemed illegal, unless it was approved by the civil magistrate, and ratified by the pope in these despotic words, “*Sic volumus et jubemus.*” Platina, *Vitæ Pontificum ad Sixtum IV.* p. 60.

⁴ See Bower’s *History of the Popes*, vol. i. note a, p. 13. If the reproach of a bad name, nor the disappointment of a mitre (see his vindication at the end of the fifth volume), had not the least share in urging this author to abandon the Roman catholic faith, the church of England may assume an honourable pride on his conversion ; because he was compelled to quit for ever the paths of superstition, in spite of all his prejudices, by the mere evidence of ecclesiastical history. (See his Preface). It is on this ground only, that the liberal and enlightened spirit of protestantism will presume to exult. Dupin, upon the Decretals, is acute, bold, and impartial ; *Bibliothèque Ecclesiastique*, tom. i. p. 215—220. Nor must we deny our praises to the anonymous author of the *Histoire des Papes*, whose diligence of inquiry, and extent of erudition, tend to cast a strong ray of light on the derivation and meaning of this famous word. The dissertation of Fleury, on this subject, prefixed to the sixteenth tome of his *Histoire Ecclesiastique*, displays his usual amplitude of learning, and justness of criticism.

establish its claims of superiority over other bishops, either in matters ecclesiastical or civil. To give these decretals then an higher origin, according to the wishes of Bellarmine⁵, whose name was once so formidable in the field of religious controversy, might be construed by the reader into a tacit declaration, that we should be guided, in the progress of this view, by no rules of truth or criticism.

In the primitive ages of christianity three distinct orders composed the hierarchy of the church, bishops, presbyters, and deacons⁶; while a perfect

⁵ This determined advocate of Rome does not scruple to quote the Decretals of the first popes, as his sole authorities, for the implicit belief of early ages, in the supremacy of the bishops of Rome; yet so embarrassed is the cardinal with his subject (for we must not suppose him careless upon a work so closely allied with the interest and glory of the papal see), that he overturns the whole weight of his argument in this unfortunate sentence. "*At hæc testimonia nihil respondent nisi esse recentia et supposititia, at quamvis aliquos errores in eas irrepsisse non negaverim, nec indubitas esse affirmare audeam, certe tamen antiquissimas nihil esse dubito.*" *De Romani Pontificis Ecclesiastica Monarchia*, lib. ii. cap. xiv.

⁶ The enemies of episcopacy must ever despair of victory when they turn their eyes to those memorable passages of Ignatius, the celebrated bishop of Antioch, in his *Epist. ad Trallianos*, p. 71. *Epist. ad Smyrnenses*, p. 120. *Usserii Polycarp & Ignat. Epist.* Oxon. 1644. More examples of the origin of episcopal government, in the apostolical ages, are to be found in bishop Pretyman's *Christian Theology*, vol. ii. p. 377; the utility of whose work is not solely confined to such as are solicitous to become serviceable teachers of the gospel.
equality

equality of jurisdiction, and harmony of counsels reigned among those who enjoyed the first of these sacred names. During those pure days, the bishops or popes of Rome⁷ would have regarded as sins of the blackest dye, the extravagant pretensions to infallible decision, and universal power, which have since been so vigorously maintained, and so tyrannically perpetuated by their artful and enterprizing successors. Beyond that respect which Rome demanded, as mistress of the world, they neither expected or obtained any superior marks of reverence, but what they derived from their piety of deportment, or from their practice of public and private benevolence.

The famous forgery of the donation of all Italy to pope Sylvester by Constantine the great, forms the next striking epoch in the history of papal fraud and ambition. In an epistle to his renowned benefactor Charlemagne, Adrian the⁸ first published

⁷ The celebrated name of pope, primarily common to all bishops, was first transferred by a decree of Gregory the seventh, in 1076, to himself alone, and to his successors. See Padre Paolo sopra Benef. Ecclæs. cap. viii. Mornay, *Mysterium Iniquitatis, sive Historia Papatûs*, Salm. 1611, p. 241. For the origin of the name of pope, see Scaligerana, Gen. 1666. p. 256. Ducange *Glossarium ad Scriptores mediæ et infirmæ Latinitatis*, Par. 1734, tom. v. p. 120, 121.

⁸ Read and consider well this most extraordinary letter in the *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* of Muratori, Med. 1728, tom. iiii. pars ii. p. 194, 195, 196, and then be not astonished at the

lished this grant for the belief of a superstitious age, and as a guide or incentive for the emperor's liberality. By this master-stroke of policy, it may be affirmed, that the pope not only released his successors from the burthensome ties of gratitude to the Carlovingian monarchs, but also enabled them for a long time to assert, without fear of detection, their just and irrevocable right to a supreme power in temporal as well as spiritual concerns.

According to the fable, Constantine was miraculously healed of a leprosy, and baptized by the hands of Sylvester. To testify the sincerity of his gratitude for this pious deed, the liberal emperor bestowed upon the Roman bishop the palace of the Lateran, and to pursue the words of the act, he quitted Rome, announced his intention of raising a new seat of empire in the provinces of Byzantium, and appointed the popes to the absolute and perpetual

massive solidity, and immeasurable length of the bridge of fraud and impudence, which has been erected by the pontifical workmen from this foundation. From the perusal of this sentence alone, I think it is evident, that, to possess an earthly kingdom, the pope is unwilling to be checked by any scruples of modesty, or truth. "*Unde et plures donationes in sacro nostro Scrinio Lateranensi reconditas habemus, tamen et pro satisfactione Christianissimi regni vestri, per jam factos viros, ad demonstrandum eas vobis direximus; et pro hac petimus eximiam Præcellentiam vestram, ut integra ipsa patrimonia Beato Petro et nobis restituere jubeatis.*"

government

government of Rome, Italy, and the provinces of the⁹ west.

Such was the nature and extent of the royal generosity; and so deep-rooted have been the prejudices of mankind in favor of papal doctrines and rites, that for several centuries no spirit bold and discerning enough appeared to dispute the truth of this boasted donation.

From an accident, inconsiderable in itself, a private law-suit, the first suspicions against its authenticity, were dropped in a Sabine monastery in the commencement of the twelfth century¹⁰. But when the revival of learning enabled men to throw

⁹ The reader will find the several editions of this act in Fabricius's well-known *Biblioth. Græc. Hamb.* 1714, tom. vi. lib. v. cap. iii. p. 4—7. It is the just remark of Gibbon, vol. ix. p. 160, note, 69, "that the copy which Laurentius Valla recites and refutes, appears to have been taken either from the spurious acts of St. Sylvester, or from Gratian's decree, to which, according to him and to others, it has been surreptitiously tacked."

¹⁰ Consult the *Chronicon Farfense* apud Muratori *Rerum Italicarum Script.* tom. iii. pars ii. p. 637, for a copious relation of this affair. The long time this forgery was suffered to be decked out in the garments of truth, discloses to a philosophic eye the blind and general obedience to the papal yoke, or else we should have imagined that, without any elaborate course of reasoning, the eyes of men would have been open on the first glance of Eusebius's interesting History of the first Christian Emperor, which expressly declares, that in his palace of *Nicomedia*, he received, in his last illness, the sacrament of baptism. *Hist. Eccles. Lov.* 1569, lib. iv. cap. lxi. lxii. lxiii. p. 303.

off the veil of their attachment to early prejudices, many opinions became industriously disseminated, which shook to the very center the long established throne of credulity and ignorance.

Among the foremost, in the ranks of elegant literature, and acute criticism, may be placed the name of Laurentius Valla, a Roman of patriotic temper, and of noble extraction. Prompted by the love of truth, regardless of the terrors of persecution, and surely animated by the hope of victory, this eloquent writer shewed himself to the world no less eager than able to expose the absurdity of this donation, which partly by a fortuitous concurrence of circumstances, and partly by measures irreconcilable to the laws of justice, transformed the humble bishops of Rome into sovereigns, who have been equally formidable from the extent of their power, and the height of their ambition.

When the decisive blow was given against this donation, Valla sought a shelter from the rage of the clergy in the court of Alphonsus, king of Naples, a judge as well as rewarder of literary merit. His retreat however was not so secure, or his protector so powerful as to save him from the disgrace of a corporal punishment in the convent of the Jacobins. But the authority of Alphonsus preserved him from the flames of the inquisition, to which he had been destined by the
cruel

eruel zeal of the times; and Rome, strange to relate, and difficult to believe, if not attested by the most unexceptionable evidence, again received this enthusiast in the cause of liberty and reason, after all the foes he had raised up to crush him by the gall of his ¹¹ pen. A pension from the pope, and the permission to teach, were the first fruits of his return; and the peaceful repose of this critical tyrant ¹² in the church of the Lateran, may be

¹¹ Forty-six folio pages Valla devotes to his attack upon this famous donation; and in this passage, he draws such a picture of papal tyranny, avarice, corruption, and uncharitableness, as might only have been expected to come from the daring pencil of one of the Reformers. "*Quamobrem dicô et exclamo (neque enim timebo homines, Deo fretus) neminem mea ætate in summo pontificatu fuisse aut fidelem dispensatorem, aut prudentem qui tantum abest, ut dederit familiæ Dei cibum, et escam panis, papa et ipse bella pacatis populis infert, et inter civitates principesque discordias serit papa et alienas sitit opes, et suas exorbet, ut Achilles in Agamemnonem δημοβροτος βασιλευς papa non modo Rempub-licam, quod non Verres, non Catalina non quispiam peculator auderet, sed etiam rem Ecclesiasticam et spiritum sanctum quætui habet, quod Simon ille majus detestatur.*" The curious reader may peruse this virulent and forcible passage in the collection of Schardius, *De Jurisdictione Imperiali ac Potestati Ecclesiast.* Basil. 1556, p. 779.

¹² How much the shafts of his verbal criticism were dreaded, and how deeply they penetrated, are not unwittingly recorded in these lines:

"Nunc postquam manes defunctus Valla petivit,
 "Non audet Pluto, verba latina loqui,
 "Jupiter hunc cæli dignatus parte fuisset
 "Censorem linguæ, sed timet esse suæ."

For this epigram, see Bayle, *Dictionnaire Critique*, Art. Valla.
 produced

produced as no indecisive testimony that the papal favour was as permanent as immediate ¹³. But hastily indeed must he have surveyed the selfish workings of the human heart, and be scantily acquainted with that jealousy of power and depth of policy which characterized the apostolical pastors, who can suppose for a moment, that they would have so quietly contemplated the downfall of that once strong edifice of their temporal authority, if all the purposes of its erection had not been fully answered, long before it was dissolved, like a charm, by the magical wand of Valla.

To unfold in a clear, but summary manner, the train of events which preceded the publication of this audacious forgery, is an object essentially interwoven with our design, as it leads directly to the foundation head of papal presumption and papal greatness,

About the close of the sixth century, Rome trembled at the name of the Lombards, who, under their great founder Alboin, had seized on the most ample and fairest portion of Italy, and chosen Pavia

¹³ The principal events of his life, are given in Bayle, *Art. Valla*. For the poignancy of his satire, and his various and acrimonious criticism, see Vossius *de Historicis Latinis*, *Lugd. Batav.* 1627, p. 528. Paulus Jovius, *Elogia Clarorum Virorum*, *Rom.* 1524, p. 11;—and Erasmus, *Epist. Christop. Fischero*, *Anno.* 1505, tom. iii. *Lugd. Batav.* 1706, p. 96.

for the capital of their sovereigns ¹⁴. The exarchs of Ravenna, and the representatives of the Greek emperor, both in peace and war, had presided over the sacred patrimony of St. Peter, from the time of Justinian to the destruction of the Gothic kingdom. While Italy was thus possessed between these two powers, the popes were too much circumscribed in their liberties and resources to accomplish any schemes which their enterprising minds might form. Many violent exertions were necessary, many plans concerted with wisdom, and executed with vigour, before they could weaken that barrier of command established by the exarchs; from the palace of Ravenna they heard and obeyed the voice of these masters, highly tenacious of their power and prerogatives, and who measured with a scrupulous rigour any attempt of the pontiffs to enlarge their authority when they had confirmed their election ¹⁵.

But when the steady persevering courage of Astolphus, king of the Lombards, after a long series

¹⁴ See Sigonius, *Historia de Regno Italiz*, lib. i. p. 7-81; and St. Marc, *Abregé Chronologique de l'Histoire d'Italie*, tom. i. p. 168, and Giannone, *Istoria Civile di Napoli*, Palm. 1762, tom. i. lib. iv. cap. i. p. 238, 239.

¹⁵ Voltaire writes, in his *Hist. Gen. oct. edit.* tom. ii. chap. xii. p. 23, "ils ne pouvaient être consacrés qu'avec la permission expresse de l'exarque." But if other writers, more famed for accuracy, and less open to the suspicion of prejudice and partiality, had not given their authorities in confirmation of

series of dreadful battles, finally expelled the exarchs from their Italian thrones, and Ravenna, the seat of their greatness for the space of one hundred and eighty-three or four years¹⁶, became the reward of his bloody labours, then opened the grand scene of papal ambition. No longer beholding the sword of the exarch over their heads, to check, to awe, and to controul their aspiring designs, the popes began to display that subtle, selfish, and ambitious policy, which, from the dark and passive ignorance of early ages, fixed their power on a basis so firm and independent, as enabled them, for several centuries, to disregard every christian principle in their religious decrees, and to indulge every disgraceful passion without decency, and without resistance.

It must be confessed that Rome did not exhibit a pleasing picture of peace, order, and safety, when

of this sentence, I should have been scrupulous in quoting his name for this fact; for I am urged to declare, from my love of historical truth, that whenever I had occasion to consult this monarch of French literature, in the progress of a work, which has since met the public eye (*The Hist. of the Revolutions of Russia*), but, with few exceptions, I found that his wit and genius disdained to be stopped by the stubborn evidence of facts. In this work also, which may be justly considered the most correct and instructive of his historical compositions, we can discover the same propensity to indulge his religious and political prejudices at the expence of truth.

¹⁶ Giannone *Istoria Civile di Napoli*, tom. i. lib.v. cap. ii.

the victories of the Lombards removed the popes from the despotism of these delegated rules ; for when the metropolis of the exarchate fell into the hands of Astolphus, he exacted the allegiance of all the places within its jurisdiction, and even urged his pretensions to an annual tribute¹⁷ of gold from the inhabitants, and to Rome itself, under the formidable title of the conqueror of the exarch.

A. D. 753.—In the year that the Lombard monarch required the Romans to acknowledge his supremacy, Stephen the¹⁸ second, filled the papal chair¹⁹. Slow to decide, but quick to execute, of nice discernment in the choice of his measures, and of surprising perseverance in accomplishing them,

¹⁷ Anastatius, *De Vitis Pontificum*, tom. i. p. 196. Platina, *Vitæ Pontificum ad Sixtum iv.* p. 80. Sigonius, *Hist. de Regno Italiæ*, lib. iii. p. 75, 76. Sigebert, *Chronicon. ad Annum*, 753, p. 54.

¹⁸ In the histories of those strenuous advocates of Popery, Anastatius, tom. i. p. 194 ; and Platina, p. 79 ; the name of the presbyter Stephen, who expired three days after his election in an apoplectic fit, is not enumerated in the list of those who have filled and disgraced the papal seat. Nor is he admitted to the title of pope, by Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* tom. ix. lib. xciii. p. 360. Dupin, *Bibliothèque Eccles.* tom. vi. p. 106. Their names will therefore protect me from any reproach of carelessness, ignorance, or confusion, upon this much disputed subject.

¹⁹ It is not perhaps unworthy of remark, that this pope was the first who proceeded to the Lateran upon the shoulders of the people ; so soon were the forms even of christian humility laid aside by this *servant of servants*.

this pontiff was admirably calculated to enforce by his example, and to ensure by his abilities, that prompt and lasting spirit of obedience and union so essential in the season of approaching danger. Perfectly suitable to this character was his answer to the demand of Astolphus:

But fortune had so often smiled on the military career of this prince, that he was not of a temper to brook the slightest opposition to his commands. On the refusal of the Romans to pay him the homage of subjects, he spread devastation through the country, and encompassed the capital with his forces. To avert the public depression, during the calamities of the war, the pious zeal of the pope displayed itself in prayers, litanies, and processions; but, in the midst of this religious fervour, his political zeal was apparent when he cast his eyes on Pepin of France, as a warrior both willing and able to shield him and his people from the resistless fury of the Lombards²⁰.

The thread of our narration will not be disordered, nor an useless digression perhaps be presented to the reader, if we give a rapid view of the political state of France previous to the period in which Stephen implored, and effectually obtained the succour of Pepin. At the middle of this century, the French nation had deservedly merited the applause and gratitude of every Euro-

²⁰ Anastatius, tom. i. p. 198, 199.

pean state for trampling on the Saracen standard, after a long, bloody, and memorable battle fought between the hills of Tours and Poitiers²¹. Charles Martel was the name of the hero who so gloriously resisted the progress of mahometan faith, and, under the humble title of mayor of the palace²², enjoyed an absolute authority over the Franks.

The first event which claims our notice, as holding out to Rome the prospect of immediate relief, and the expectation of future advantage, was the solemn legation which pope Gregory the third, in the year 741, dispatched into France, in order to seek protection against Liutprand, king of the Lombards, whose daring character was sensibly felt, and long dreaded by the Roman church. To excite the respect of

²¹ An account of this famous engagement, which gave occasion it is supposed for the title of *Martel* the hammer being added to his name (see Pere Daniel, *Histoire de France*, Amst. 1720, tom. i. p. 335), is fully given by several ancient and modern Historians. See Mariana, *Historia de España*, Toled. 1601, tom. i. lib. vii. p. 427, 428. Mezeray, *Hist. de France*, tom. par. 1685, p. 317, 318. Pere d' Orleans, *Hist. des Revol. d' Espagne*, tom. i. p. 56, 57. Desormeaux, *Hist. d' Espagne*, tom. i. p. 240, 241. Marigny, *Hist. des Arabes*, tom. ii, p. 460, 461. Chenier, *Recherches Historiques sur les Maures*, tom. i. p. 283, 284. Cardonne, *Hist. de l' Afrique et de l' Espagne*, tom. i. p. 127, 128.

²² See *Hist. de Charlemagne*, by the elegant and instructive pen of M. Gaillard, for the character, exploits, and sway of Charles Martel, tom. i. chap. iv. p. 300-330.

Charles,

Charles, and to obtain the object of their mission, the ambassadors of the pope carried with them, as presents, the keys of the tomb of St. Peter (a relict then of great request), and likewise some filings of iron, scraped from the chain with which that apostle was supposed to have been bound when a prisoner at Rome.

During their residence at his court, the conqueror of the Saracens entertained the legates with a liberality and splendour becoming his great station, nor did he refuse to listen to their complaints with a respectful attention; but neither their entreaties; or two epistles of the ²³ pope, written in the characters of eloquent piety, artful sagacity, and submissive adulation, could prevail on Charles to stand forth the champion of the cross, until a second embassy tempted his vanity and ambition with the title of the exarch, and the allegiance of the pope, and the Roman people ²⁴.

But

²³ The last words of the second Epistle are these, "*Ex hoc enim (the chastisement of the Lombard nation) tibi poteris immortalem et eternam acquirere vitam.*" See Muratori Rer. Ital. Scrip. tom. iii. pars ii. Epistolæ Codicis Carolini, p. 77.

²⁴ Pere Daniel, Histoire de la France, tom. i. 343, 344. Fleury, Hist. Eccles. tom. ix. lib. xcii. p. 285. Le Sueur, in his Hist. de l'Eglise et de l'Empire, Amst. 1730, tom. vi. p. 191. in speaking of these holy gifts, sarcastically observes, "*Car dès lors on s'amusoit fort à sès superstitions.*" The author of the Hist. des Papes, tom. i. p. 534, presents his readers with the following *charitable* remark upon this embassy. "C'est la premiere

But death prevented the pope from reaping the expected reward of his treason to the Greek emperor, and shortly after this offer of Gregory to obey a new master for the security of his power at home and abroad, the same stroke²⁵ put an end to those prompt operations and bold resolutions, which have distinguished the reign of Charles, in the page of history. Still, however, their intercourse formed the bond of a religious and political union between Rome and France, which, by the dextrous management and daring genius of Zachary²⁶, the successor of Gregory, attained sufficient strength and durability to promote the interest and glory of the Church, in such a manner as must kindle the flame of gratitude in the breasts of those (and their number will not be called scanty) who have worn the papal tiara, with thoughts more bent on temporal possessions than on celestial promises.

Pepin succeeded Charles in the title of mayor or

premiere Legation qui vint de Rome en France; et plut à Dieu que les Ultramontains n'y eussent jamais mis le pied; ou qu'on eut fait pendre le premier qui y vint de la part de Gregoire, avec menace de faire le meme accueil à tous ceux qui, dans la suite, voudroient courir les risques d'une pareille Ambassade."

²⁵ They both died in the year 741, within the difference of a month only. See Hist. de Charlemagne, tom. i. chap. iv. p. 330.

²⁶ A page could not have better introduced me to Zachary, than this terse line in the *Historia Ecclesiastica per Centuriatores*. "Homo astutus, et fraudulentus, Græcè et Latine doctus, facundia et audacia insignis," Cent. viii. cap. x. p. 693.

duke of the palace²⁷, and with his father's power he inherited all his genius and ambition. Not content with reducing the degenerate race of Clovis, to the lowest state of contempt and weakness, while he entirely engrossed their jurisdiction, with, his usual bold policy he resolved to strip these, descendants of the founder of the French monarchy, of the honours even of a legal name. As the fittest person, from situation and character, to aid this design, he fixed on the pope, well knowing his violent hatred and constant apprehensions of the Lombards, his ardent desire to abridge their power and influence in Italy, and his immediate concurrence with the measures of him, who possessed the ability and inclination to undertake that troublesome and dangerous office.

The son of Charles was not deceived in the choice of his instrument. Without a thought of his flagrant injustice, without any hesitating scruples, without any affected reluctance, the holy father took the crown of France from Childeric.²⁸

²⁷ Mezeray, in the first tome of his *Hist. de France*, unfolds, in a well connected form, the origin of the power of the mayors of the palace, the vizirs of the French kings. Less copious, but equally clear and correct, is the information of M. Gaillard upon this subject. *Hist. de Charlemagne*, tom. i. ch. iii. p. 229.

²⁸ This last of the Merovingian race, spent the remainder of his days in a monastery. Duchesne, *Historia Francorum Scriptores coetanei*, Lutet. 1636, tom. iii. p. 440. *Annales Regum Francorum ab Anno, 742, usque ad 98*, cap. ix. Pere Daniel, *Hist. de France*, tom. i. p. 363.

and

and placed it upon the head of Pepin, by his answer to the following question, proposed to him by the mouths of St. Burchard, bishop of Wirtzburg, and Fulrad, abbot of St. Denys. "Whose pretensions were strongest to the throne, he who enjoyed the title of king, without exercising the functions attached to that name, or he who wanted the name but discharged the duties of the palace?"²⁹ The reader will anticipate the decision of Zachary³⁰; and, if we pursue the history of these times, we shall learn that Pepin was no less hailed king by the approbation of the pope, than by the united consent of the French nation.

²⁹ Quis potius Rex dici deberet? an ille qui pro Regni pace sustinuit labores, an ille qui otio erat deditus, et solo nomine regio erat contentus. See Muratori, *Scrip. Rerum Ital.* tom. iii. pars ii. p. 78. See likewise Revius, *Historia Pontif. Roman.* Amst. 1632. p. 61.

³⁰ Baronius, *Annal. Eccles.* tom. ix. Ad Ann. 751. p. 196; and Bellarmine, of course, maintain, that by the apostolic authority, and decree of Zachary, the French sceptre was transferred from Childeric to Pepin. The latter papal writer has collected in his *De Translatione Imper. Roman.* Antw. 1759, lib. i. cap. xi. p. 52, 53, 54, the names of those who support his opinion;—while Dupin, *De Antiqua Ecclesiæ Disciplina Coll.* Ag. 1691, Dissert. vii. p. 513–519, thinks it no difficult task to prove that the French consulted the pope on this occasion, in the less exalted, but more suitable character of a divine or casuist. He also produces a number of writers who concur in his opinion. But on both sides of the question the stain of party bigotry is visible.

Such were the obligations of Pepin to the church of Rome, when Stephen, the successor of Zachary, called upon that prince to unsheathe his sword against the designing and ambitious ruler of the Lombards. In a letter, secretly entrusted to the care of a pilgrim (for the Lombards were masters of the passes), the pope fully reveals the agony of his mind, and the deplorable condition of his people. Nor are we inclined to suspect the sincerity of the pope when he declares, that (God alone excepted) his hopes of deliverance were solely placed on the generosity and valour of the French king³¹. At the first glance, the conduct of Stephen may raise the reproach of precipitate rashness ; but, on a nearer view, the deep caution and discernment of the statesman stand confessed, in preferring the arm of a ruler, at whose summons a martial and victorious race of people would girt on their swords, without a moment's delay, to perform his wishes, to the dubious friendship of the Greek emperor, Constantine the fifth, surnamed Copronymus, a prince who lost the equity of the judge in the cruelty of a tyrant, when, by a deluge of human blood³², he sought to stop the idolatrous worship of saints and images.

³¹ Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Script. Epist. Cod. Epist. iv.-vi.* p. 96-99.

³² Gibbon has drawn a picture of this monster in his usual colours of boldness and judgment, vol. ix. p. 27.

Some

Some princes, little touched by the voice of distant supplication, or attentive only to the maxims of an interested policy, would have suffered the pope to languish in hopeless despair. But such thoughts, happily for the safety and independence of Stephen, were repugnant to the generous mind of Pepin. The abbot Droctegandus delivered into the hands of the pope a letter from his royal master, filled with the strongest assurances of his protection. By the return of this messenger, the pope, willing to loose no opportunity of strengthening his cause, after Pepin, addressed the dukes of France, in words which generously promised them a remission of sins, an hundred-fold in this world, and eternal life in another, to animate their zeal in the service of St. Peter³³; and when in despair of moderating the ambition of Astolphus³⁴, and conjointly impelled by the liveliness of his fears, and by the secret hopes of entirely removing the impending danger in a personal interview, Stephen ventured to set out for France;—his reception was accompanied with such signal marks of royal veneration, that, from that single circumstance, he

³³ Epist. x. xi.

³⁴ The fluctuating scene of truces and hostilities, which passed between the pope and Astolphus before the visit of the former to France, is fully described by Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* tom. ix. lib. xciii. p. 361, &c. &c.; and by the author of the *Hist. des Papes*, tom. i. p. 553, &c. &c.

might have been justified, in announcing to his abandoned people, that Pepin would speedily take up arms in defence of the church.

A. D. 754.—On reaching the abbey of St. Maurice, in the Vallais, where he reposed a few days from the fatigues of his long and difficult journey, duke Rotard, and the abbot Fulrad, were appointed to congratulate him upon his safe arrival, and to conduct him with every demonstration of respect and honour to Pontyon, a royal castle in Champagne³⁵. As the pope proceeded on his way to embrace his protector, his pride was gratified by the appearance of Charles, the son of Pepin, and some chief personages of the court. The king himself, with his queen, his youngest son Carloman, and a splendid train of nobles, likewise came forth three miles to receive him; nor did Pepin conceive the exalted character of majesty to be degraded, when, in humble reverence, he prostrated himself at the feet of the pope, and, for some distance on the road, performed the lowly office of his groom³⁶. We have

³⁵ See Sigonius, *Hist. de Regno Italiæ*, lib. iii. p. 77. Pere Daniel, *Hist. de France*, tom. i. p. 368.

³⁶ See Anastatius, tom. i. p. 199—204; and *Vitæ Pontificum Ex Amalrico Augero apud Muratori, Rer. Scrip. Ital.* tom. iii. p. 89. Platina, in his endeavours to exalt the dignity of the pope upon this occasion, even outstrips his master Anastatius, p. 80. Mezeray, *Hist. de France*, tom. i. 359, 360, acknowledges the genuflexion of Pepin, but is silent upon his metamorphosis into the

have dwelt with a degree of minuteness upon this interview, which otherwise might have been spared, if we had not esteemed it one of our principal duties, to omit no fair and honest occasion of shewing the reader, who may be unacquainted with the ecclesiastical history of these times, how strong was the root, and large the size of that rank weed Popery in the vineyard of the Lord, and how ill the bishop of the Roman church imitated the meekness and humility of its apostolic founder,

But the pope derived from this visit advantages of a more substantial nature than these transient marks of outward submission. In his frequent and free intercourse with the French king, the crafty politician so nicely watched the moments when to urge the redress of his grievances, in the language of gentle and friendly admonition, when,

the person of an *ecuyer*. Le Sueur, under the appearance of disbelieving the narrative of Anastatius, condemns, with becoming asperity, the indecent greatness assumed by the pope on this memorable occasion. "Et quand la chose auroit été telle, il me semble que ce seroit un grand blâme plutôt qu'une louange à celui qui se nomme *Serviteur des Serviteurs* de souffrir qu'un des plus grands Rois qu'il y eut au monde lui servit de Palefrenier ou d'Ecuyer, et que cela ne convient point du tout à celui qui se glorifie d'une humilité apostolique; et que St. Pierre dont il se dit Successeur n'eut jamais souffert qu'on lui deferat un tel honneur." Hist. de l'Eglise et de l'Empire, tom. vi. p. 209.

to overpower his reason, and to command the deliverance of the church, by entangling him in the net of superstition, that his liberal and pious auditor not only undertook to disturb the repose of Astolphus, until he had restored his late conquests, but even engaged to present them to Stephen, to the exclusion of his lawful sovereign the emperor, (what will not the artful genius of popery effect), for the remission of his sins, and the salvation of his soul³⁷. Nor was the time long, before the impatient Stephen reaped the harvest of this valuable promise.

At the next assembly, the field of March³⁸, a band of heroes resolved to unfurl the standard of war for the gratification of their apostolic pastor; and, in the middle of September, after an absence of nine months from the palace of the Lateran, the pope once more trod the Alps, not however in the humiliating habit of a fugitive, but followed by a gallant prince and numerous army, enured to

³⁷ *Ego vero inquit si me Longobardicæ compotem victoriæ Deus fecerit, polliceor, me pro remissione peccatorum meorum impetranda Exarchatum et Pentapolim Reip. Rom. adempta beato Petro et successoribus ejus traditurum in perpetuum possidenda.* Sigonius, *Hist. de Regno Italæ*, lib. iii. p. 78. It is a controverted point among Historians (see Bower, vol. iii. p. 353), whether the pope or Pepin first proposed to strip the emperor of his Italian dominions. If we weigh and decide this dispute, by the scales of interest, the dimmest sight will perceive the balance inclining to the side of the pope.

³⁸ St. Marc, *Abregé Chronologique de l'Italie*, tom. i. p. 350.
discipline

discipline, and flushed with ardour by a long succession of brilliant victories. One very remarkable command of Pepin, before his departure, must not escape our notice, as it displays, in full force, his political bigotry, and the arrogant pretensions of Stephen in his sacred character. As the most effectual remedy to silence every murmur of discontent or rebellion which might hereafter arise upon his usurpation, to the annoyance or injury of his posterity³⁹, he caused the sacred unction⁴⁰, to be poured upon him by the pope⁴¹, in the church of St. Denys. Although this imposing ceremony had been performed by that orthodox critic⁴² St. Boniface⁴³

³⁹ Allora Pipino affinché si rendesse più venerando á suoi sudditi, e per maggiormente stabilire il Regno di Francia nella sua persona, é nelle sua posterità, volle che Stefano colle sue mani, lo consecrassse Ré, &c. See Giannone, Istoria civile de Napoli. tom. i. lib. v. cap. ii. p. 333.

⁴⁰ This founder of a new line of kings, was the first to make the ceremony of his coronation a religious institution. See Pfeffel, Abregé Chronologique d'Allemagne, tom. i. p. 22. The former kings of France, when chosen, were lifted upon a buckler. In the Liber Pontificalis, apud Muratori, Rer. Ital. Script. tom. ii. pars i. p. 173, it is said, that *Zachary* anointed Pepin; but this assertion is plainly contradictory to the general testimony of historians on this subject.

⁴¹ See Annales Bertiniani apud Muratori, Rer. Script. Ital. tom. iii. pars. i. p. 496. Gaillard, Hist. de Charlemagne, tom. i. chap. iv. p. 356.

⁴² A German priest, in his ignorance of the Latin tongue, had administered the sacrament in these words. "*Baptizo te in nomine*

face⁴³ the first, who enjoyed, with conscious pride, the various titles of archbishop of Mentz, or

nomine Patria, et Filia, et Spiritua sancta." Boniface was so deeply scandalized at this verbal inaccuracy, that he declared the sacrament thus ministered was not valid. His disciples, Sidonius and Virgilius, endeavoured to persuade him that the ignorance of the minister, or a solecism in language, could by no means affect a sacrament, or prevent its operation. But their expostulations were disregarded; and the obstinate archbishop maintained his intention of rebaptizing all who had thus been admitted within the pale of Christianity, until they appealed to pope Zachary, who deserves the praise of discretion, in ending their dispute in this sentence: "*Si ille qui baptizavit, non errorem introducens, ac hæresim, sed pro sola ignorantia Romanæ locutionis infringendo linguam, ut supra fati sumus, baptizans dixisset; non possumus consentire, ut denuò baptizentur.*" See Zach. Epist. iv. apud Baronium, Annal. Eccles. tom. ix. p. 160. Ad Annum, 744. If Boniface had held the rank of archbishop of Canterbury, in the reign of Alfred, what would he have said to the following complaint of that illustrious prince. "So cleane it (learning) was fallen among the English nation, that very few vvere on this side Humber, which their seruice could onderstand in English, or els furthermore an epistle from Latin into English to declare, & I vvere that not many beyond Humber vvere not. So fevv of them vvere that I also one onely may not remember by south Thamise when as I to reigne undertoke." The words of Camden's literal translation of the Saxon epistle to bishop Wulfsgie. Asser, in Camd. Franc. 1602. de Ælfredi Rebus gestis, p. 25. See the life of Boniface, in the *Histoire Litteraire de la France*, Par. 1738, tom. iv. p. 96. Dupin, in his *Bibliothèque Eccles.* tom. vi. p. 90, has reviewed his spiritual labours.

⁴³ *Historia Ecclesia per Centuriatores*, Cent. viii. cap. ix. p. 705. St. Marc, *Abregé Chronologique de l'Italie*, tom. i. p. 314.

Mayence,

Mayence, the apostle of Germany, reformer of France, and the slave of Rome. Upon this memorable day the pope bestowed, and Pepin and his sons accepted, the proud title of patricians of Rome⁴⁴. While elated by the success of his measures, this frail mortal, the pope, invested himself with all the divine attributes of the judge of the world, and darted, with a visible complacency, his spiritual thunders against the French and their posterity, if they should presume to elect a sovereign, whose veins were not filled with the blood of the Carlovingian race.

The vigorous plan of operations adopted by Pepin, and executed by the intrepid activity of his soldiers, soon triumphed over every obstacle which the face of the country, and the arms of the Lombards presented. In the walls of his capital⁴⁵, Pavia, Astolphus was compelled, by the victorious sword of Pepin, to relinquish his late conquests, to renounce for ever his claims to the dukedom and city of

⁴⁴ Mezeray, tom. i. p. 362. Pere Daniel, tom. i. p. 369. The following writers have examined and explained, according to their different prejudices, the title and authority of the patrician of Rome, when held by Charles Martel, Pepin, and Charlemagne. Pagi, Critica, A. D. 740. Ducange Glossarium ad Scriptores mediæ et infimæ Latinitatis, tom. v. p. 269—271. Marca de Concordia Sacerdotii et Imperii, Par. 1663, tom. i. lib. i. cap. xii. p. 48. lib. iii. cap. xi. p. 182, 183. St. Marc, Abregé Chronologique d'Italie, tom. i. p. 379—382.

⁴⁵ Anastatius, tom. i. p. 208.

Rome, and to respect the person of the pope, the common father of the French and Lombards⁴⁶. A prince, like Astolphus, accustomed to conquest, it may be easily supposed, could not long assume a submissive posture. No sooner therefore had these formidable invaders marched back to their country, than the Lombard monarch recovered his strength, violated every article of the late treaty, and again became the scourge of the Roman state⁴⁷.

A. D. 755.—The flames of war were once more carried to the gates of Rome, and, with extreme hazard to their lives⁴⁸, two faithful friends of Stephen contrived to elude the suspicious vigilance of his enemy, and to convey into the hands of his distant protector a letter, which paints in pathetic but exaggerated language, the deep affliction of the pope, and the various sufferings of his people⁴⁹.

⁴⁶ See Fleury, *Hist. Ecclesiastique*, tom. ix. liv. xciii. p. 379. *Hist. des Papes*, tom. i. p. 560. *Ecclesiast. Hist. Magd.* Centur. viii. cap. vii. p. 494; and Bower, vol. iii. p. 356.

⁴⁷ See Sigonius, *Hist. de Regno Italiæ*, lib. iii. p. 79. Anastasius, tom. i. p. 208. Platina, p. 80. St. Marc, *Abregé Chronologique d'Italie*, tom. i. 351.

⁴⁸ Bower, vol. iii. 371.

⁴⁹ The image which Baronius employs, to represent the distress of the pope, in which he quotes the language of scripture is remarkable for its strength. "*Audisti dolores ut parturientis.*" The reader will make the application. See the whole passage in *Annales Eccles.* tom. ix. p. 225. Ad Ann. p. 755.

Rome.

Rome, in the mean time, was so closely pressed by the forces of Astolphus, and the pope in such imminent danger of being hourly delivered into the hands of the enemy, that, with all the anxiety of fear, he dispatched another epistle, praying for the immediate assistance of Pepin. Apprehensive lest his former declaration should have been viewed by the French monarch and nation with an eye of lukewarm indifference, so unfavorable to his critical state of affairs, in his eagerness to arouse their lethargy, he has recourse to the very impious and extravagant expedient of addressing them in the name and person of St. Peter himself. This famous epistle, so deeply impressed with the characters of deceit and blasphemy, and so justly offensive to the belief of the pious and rational christian, must display, in its true colours, to the most careless observer, the presumptuous intrigues and unholy character of the sovereign pontiff. The immoderate length of this tissue of falsehoods, will not suffer the whole to find a place in this view for the perusal and edification of our readers; but that passage, in which the apostle assures his elected children, the king, the clergy, and the nobles of France, that the virgin⁵⁰, the thrones, the powers, and

⁵⁰ Sed et Domina nostra, Dei genitrix semper Virgo Maria, nobiscum vos magnis obligationibus adjuvans protestatur atque admonet et jubet, simul etiam Throni atque Dominationes, et cunctus

and all the heavenly host conjure them to deliver his chosen flock with all possible expedition, and that everlasting damnation will fall to their lot, if his church, his city, and his people, are taken by the treacherous Lombards, may be selected as the most opposite to the truth of our faith⁵¹, though,

cunctus cœlestis militiæ exercitus——ne lanientur et crucientur corpora et animæ vestræ in æterno atque inextinguibile tartareo igne cum Diabolo et ejus pestiferis Angelis; Epist. iii.

⁵¹ The strong bias of Mr. Gibbon to the tolerating spirit of pagan theology, and his artful, but unprofitable attempts to weaken the foundations of Christianity (the two great and unpardonable strains of his splendid history), urge him to support, at least to palliate, this barefaced imposition of Stephen. See vol. ix. p. 149, note 52. I am pleased to transcribe the illustrative criticisms of Fleury upon this extraordinary epistle. They are sound, acute, and impartial. The papal vest of superstition is thrown off, the light of reason admitted, and the cardinal, in this instance, stands forth, every inch of him, an unprejudiced man. “ Cette lettre est importante pour connoître le genie de ce siècle là et jusques où les hommes les plus graves sçavoient pousser la fiction quand ils la croïoient utile. Au reste elle est pleine d’équivoques comme les précédentes. L’église y signifie, non l’assemblée des fideles, mais les biens temporels consacrez à Dieu: le troupeau de Jesus-Christ sont les corps, & non pas les ames: les promesses temporelles de l’ancienne loi sont mêlées avec les spirituelles de l’évangile; et les motifs les plus saints de la religion emploïez pour une affaire d’état.” Tom. ix. liv. xciii. p. 385. The broad glare of truth itself will not induce Baronius, the patient Baronius, to lighten for a moment the weight of his ecclesiastical yoke. Poor man! Through what endless roads of credulity and fraud must he have travelled FOR A RED HAT.

doubtless,

doubtless, the most attractive to the blind ignorance of that age.

But the pope, and not the apostle, to drop all confusion of speech and profane union of persons, discovered not his usual discernment, when he suspected the fidelity and affection of his distant and adopted sons. On the arrival of his first petition, Pepin had meditated and prepared for a second expedition into Italy, instigated by the double and powerful motives of superstition and revenge. With all that celerity, which distinguished the heroes of his race, Pepin again crossed the Alps, delivered Rome, and obliged Astolphus to subscribe to a peace, which specified, among other disgraceful articles, his evacuation of the Exarchate, and his acknowledgement of the humiliating title of vassal, and tributary of France⁵².

While Pepin, supported by numbers, discipline, and enthusiasm, had a second time over-ran the kingdom of the Lombards, Constantine Copronymus, the Iconoclast, dispatched his envoys to Pepin in order to regain his dominions in the west, and to remunerate him for the defence of them⁵³. But the prompt and decisive reply of the king of France, that he had not drawn his sword for their

⁵² See Gaillard, *Hist. de Charlemagne*, tom. i. chap. iv. p. 379.

⁵³ *Historia Ecclesia per Centuriatores*, Cent. viii. cap. vii. p. 497.

emperor,

emperor, but for St. Peter, that he had engaged for the pardon of own sins and the salvation of his soul, to lay all his conquests in Italy at the feet of the visible successor of the apostle (and he added, with an oath, that not all the riches of the world should tempt him revoke his promise⁵⁴), must have convinced the ambassadors, that the claims of their master would no longer be respected in Rome; or if some fond hopes were still cherished that a ray of wisdom might break in upon the mind of this conqueror, and teach him to think an earthly kingdom a very unsuitable reward for a disciple of Christ; and that the indecent haste with which it was solicited, was little consistent with the frequency of devout contemplation, or the humility of true belief, they were all put to flight by his subsequent proceedings.

After Astolphus had reduced himself to the lowest pitch of shame and weakness, by consenting to the above-mentioned treaty, the guardian and benefactor of the Roman church ordered a new instrument to be drawn up, in which he resigned for ever into the hands of St. Peter, and his lawful successors, all the cities which had been wrested

⁵⁴ *Affirmans etiam sub juramento, quod per nullius hominis favorem sese certamini æquius dedisset, nisi pro amore beati Petri, et venia delictorum, asserens et hoc, quod nulla ei thesauri copia suadere valeret, ut quod semel beato Petro obtulit, auferret.* Anastatius, tom. i. p. 211.

by the Lombards. Nor would Pepin withdraw his troops from the territories of Astolphus, lest he should again manifest his insincerity of faith, till the aspiring views of the pope were accomplished by the keys and hostages of every city⁵⁵ expressed in the donation being surrendered to the French ambassador, the abbot Fulrad⁵⁶, and the first article of stipulation deposited, in his sovereign's name, upon the tomb of St. Peter, with all imaginable solemnity.

Thus, at last, the sword of temporal sway, the chief aim of his life, and the grand object of his desires, was put in the hands of Stephen without any considerations of prudence or principles of justice⁵⁷. Some writers, fast bound in papal chains, would extend the jurisdiction of the pope by this injudicious act of liberality over all the provinces of Italy, which had submitted to the authority of

⁵⁵ Their names and number are enumerated by Anastatius, tom. i. p. 212. Sigonius, Hist. de Regno Italiae, lib. iii. p. 80. Fleury, Hist. Ecclesiastique, tom. ix. liv. xciii. p. 386, 387. St. Marc, Abregé Chronologique de l'Italie, tom. i. 352; and Hist. des Papes, tom. i. p. 563.

⁵⁶ See Pere Daniel, tom. i. p. 373. Giannone, tom. i. lib. v. cap. ii. p. 337.

⁵⁷ It is not unworthy of remark, nor of remembrance, that *both the spiritual and temporal power of the popes*, was bestowed upon them by two *usurpers*, Phocas and Pepin. Such an extraordinary coincidence of events, with measures and characters, perhaps, is unparalleled in the page of ancient or modern history.

the emperor and his exarch. But to weigh this grant, with a free and impartial hand, we must copy the geographical accuracy of the historian of Rome, and assert, in his words, that the strict and proper limits of the exarchate were included in the territories of Ravenna, Bologna, and Ferrara; and its inseparable dependency, was the Pentapolis, which stretched along the Adriatic from Rimini to Ancona, and advanced into the midland country as far as the ridges of the Appenine⁵⁸.

In the pontificate of Adrian the first, when Charlemagne, the son and successor of Pepin, diffused his name and authority over all Europe, the stream of papal acquisitions flowed on with a rapid and uninterrupted course. The island of Corsica, and that wide extent of country which embraced the cities and territories of Vercetri, Parma, Reggio, Mantua, and Menselice, are reckoned by Anastatius as belonging to this donation, nor will he suffer the provinces of Istria and Venice, the dutchy of Benvenuto and Spoleto to escape from the grasp of the pope⁵⁹. The elegant, but partial Sigonius, is willing to comprise, in this gift, the Sabinian territory with a considerable portion of Tuscany and Campania⁶⁰, without diminishing the former generosity of Pepin. The sovereignty

⁵⁸ See Gibbon, vol. ix. p. 157.

⁵⁹ Anastatius, tom. i. p. 270.

⁶⁰ Historia de Regno Italiae, lib. iii. p. 223.

of Naples, and the provinces of Abruzzo and Apulia are annexed to the grant by another⁶¹ historian, and even the inhabitants of the islands of Sardinia and Sicily, who never bowed to the will of Charlemagne, are ranked, by some writers, as subjects to the ecclesiastical state.

But whether we allow the Roman pontiffs this dangerous latitude of dominion, or regard the grants of Charlemagne as merely verbal, according to the opinion of a severe and skilful judge⁶², this fact is supported by the most undeniable authority, that the donation of Pepin, which might have been praised by the papists of the age, as the most valuable and lasting monument of his christian faith and piety, first furnished the successors of St. Peter with the specious pretence of exercising the kingly functions of imposing taxes, enacting laws, creating magistrates, and dispensing justice. And although in the ninth⁶³ and tenth centuries⁶⁴

⁶¹ See Petr. de Marca, *De Concordia Sacerdotii et Imperii*, Par. 1663, tom. i. lib. iii. cap. x. p. 178.

⁶² St. Marc maintains and proves, with manifest candour and ability, that there is reasonable ground to suspect that Charlemagne was not quite so generous to the pope as the generality of historians have imagined. See *Abregé Chronologique de l'Italie*, tom. i. p. 390—480.

⁶³ See *Histoire des Papes*, tom. ii. for the cruel and sanguinary characters of the popes Pascal, and John VIII. Their vices are sufficiently prominent, without seeking for a pope *Jean*, to fill up the odious picture. Her story, however, has

ries⁶⁴ the emperors of Germany greatly curtailed the power of the pope, both temporal and spiritual (for their actions in these turbulent, perfidious, and bloody periods were perpetually justifying the extinction

been viewed as fabulous, since Bayle, *Dictionnaire Critique*, Art. Papesse; and Blondel, *Esclaireissement; touchant la Papesse Jeane*, Amst. 1647; have investigated it with their scrutinizing eyes.

⁶⁴ The papal wickedness in the tenth century is at once so various and flagrant, that even Baronius could no longer smother his indignation against those who filled the apostolic seat in this distracted period of the Roman church. As we have not often an opportunity of catching the dignified annalist in this mood, we shall transcribe some parts of his angry language, which, however, with all its violence, is so artfully expressed, as never to injure, in the slightest degree, the cause of papal supremacy. He begins his invective with calling the tenth century "*sæculum, quod sui asperitate ac boni sterilitate ferreum, malique exundantes deformitate plumbeum, atque inopia scriptorum appellari consuevit obscurum*. In eandem sedem," (the papal) continues the cardinal, after saying that it is the worst of all evils, if seculars rule the church, "*angelis reverendam visu horrenda intrusa sint monstra, &c.*" The whole passage is worthy of perusal, though of too great a length to transcribe. See *Annales Eccles.* tom x. p. 648. Ad Ann. 900. It will be scarcely believed, in this sceptical age, that John XII. elected pope at the age of *eighteen or nineteen* (see Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* tom. xii. liv. cv. p. 98, A. D. 954), was permitted, by Otho the great, to ordain a deacon in a stable, to make bishops for money, to invest a child, of ten years old, with the name and functions of bishop of Todi, to hunt in public, to invoke Jupiter, Venus, and other Pagan deities, when playing

unction of religion, and perpetually outraging the feelings of decency and humanity almost beyond belief), yet we shall find, in every stage of their history, these traitors to the benign and humble virtues of christianity, were ever active and solicitous, when the season was inviting, to fix and to enlarge their royal prerogatives⁶⁵,

Thus have we delineated the leading events which paved the way for the rapid advancement of the ecclesiastical and civil authority of the popes. Nor would it at all assimilate with the design of this work, and we are sure it would not add either to the instruction or entertainment of the sensible reader, if we had loaded it with a cumbersome detail of occurrences suitable and pleasing only to

at dice, to drink wine in honour of the devil (shall we proceed in this string of enormities), to put out the eyes of Benedict, his spiritual father, to set fire to houses, to take the field as a soldier, and to convert the palace of the Lateran into a brothel. For these scandalous crimes, see Luitprand, *De Rebus per Europam Gestis*, Par. 1514, lib. vi. cap. vii. The bishop of Cremona is a witness upon whom the most suspicious may depend.

⁶⁵ Without believing with Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* tom. x. liv. xcvi. p. 197, the famous donation of the emperor Louis, or with De Marca, *De Concordia et Sacerdotii et Imperii*, tom. i. lib. iii. cap. xi. p. 185, that the gratitude of Charles the bald, for John's raising him to the empire, yielded up the full sovereignty of Rome, I can yet perceive sufficient proofs of the attention of the popes to their temporal interests to justify this assertion.

the taste and imagination of those, who prefer the dross of fiction, to the ore of truth, the thick darkness of fable, to the full light of knowledge. Motives however of a very different complexion from these have determined us to pass over, in total silence, the final separation of the popes from the eastern empire, the imperial coronation of Charlemagne, and the final establishment of the use and worship of images in the east and west ; transactions of the first importance in the splendid and eventful reign of this greatest of the Carlovingian princes. To throw only a superficial glance upon them would involve the reader in a cloud of obscurity and confusion ; to relate them, diffusely, so as to merit the attention of the learned, would alone form the subject of a separate undertaking of no inconsiderable extent. We cannot however resist this observation respecting the worship of images, that when they were restored by the second Nicene council, and their pious workmanship judged, by Adrian the first, worthy of universal veneration, the British prelates⁶⁶, by the pen of their countryman

⁶⁶ In the name of the English bishops, Alcuin opposed this famous council. With the boldness of a man, confident of victory, he attacked its decrees, by express authorities of holy scripture. His controversial epistle was transmitted to Charlemagne. See Hoveden, *Annales edente Hen. Savile*, Lond. 1596, pars i. p. 233. Simeon, *Historia Ecclesiæ Danhelmen-ses*, p. iii. Matthew, of Westminster, *Flores Historiarum*, Lond.

countryman Alcuin, who shone forth a star of great learning in this age of barbarism, were among the first to make a bold stand against the decree of that assembly (although the baleful influence of popery was felt throughout their island), and amongst the last to bow the knee to these symbols of Paganism.



THE foundation of papal power being thus laid, we shall proceed to a particular view of those extraordinary causes and events, which, in so sudden, and so surprising a manner, contributed to erect upon it a fabric, apparently of such exquisite perfection in all its parts, that several seasons of blind admiration passed before it was judged capable of improvement; and many successive and bold experiments of reason were performed, before instruments were found of such sufficient keenness, temper, and size, to pull down its strongest props of tyranny

Lond. 1570. Ann. 793, p. 283. Spelman, Council Brit. Lond. 1639, vol. i. p. 306, 307. Collier, Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain, Lond. 1708, book ii. p. 139. I can discover no satisfactory reason wherefore this letter of Alcuin to Charlemagne should be considered as *une pure fable*, by the authors of the *Histoire Litteraire de France*, tom. iv. p. 343.

and artifice, to lay bare the marks of avarice and pride which disfigured its walls, and to strip off the thick coat of hypocrisy and superstition, which had so long incrustated its surface. At the distance of eight centuries it will perhaps be esteemed by the prejudiced, as invidious and unattainable, by the candid, a difficult, but instructive design, to expose the defects and corruptions of the architect, whose ingenuity and perseverance raised this building, composed of such vast, motley, and perishable materials. Following however sources the least defiled by party faction, and standing aloof from all principles which, embracing personal benefits, may destroy, at least injure, the first of historical virtues, Truth, we do not despair of making a near approach to the true aim of those religious and political systems, from whence have sprung evils ruinous for a time to the fundamental laws of charity and justice, and detrimental to the peace and independence of whole nations.

When Gregory the seventh ascended the pontifical throne, the Roman church had undergone many political convulsions. The apostolic see had long groaned under the iron sceptre of the German emperors ; none could assume the splendor of the papal office until their election was ratified by these ostensible protectors, who frequently made all Rome one common scene of distraction, by listening to the dictates of caprice,

caprice, or to the meaner passions of distrust and avarice; at their nod a croud of phantoms suddenly started up, and as suddenly disappeared, arrayed in the pontifical garments, while these fleeting successors of St. Peter, were only anxious to improve every advantage of oppression which their temporary greatness afforded them, instead of nobly aspiring to become the ornaments and comforts of their sinking state. They who kept their seats longer by the persuasive arts of flattery and bribery, were constantly harrassed and disturbed by the mutinous spirit of the Roman people; while the marquisses of Tuscany, and the counts of Tusculum practised, without remorse, and without punishment, the boldest encroachments upon their jurisdiction, and long contrived to vilify their sacred pretensions¹.

To extirpate these numerous and formidable abuses, and to frame a new government, which should daringly seek to intimidate, perplex, and subjugate every other, under the plausible shew of purging the vices of an iniquitous age, and of increasing the decayed fund of religion and morality, Gregory the seventh arose, perhaps one of the most extraordinary characters in the history

¹ For ample details of the papal history, in the ninth and tenth centuries, see the second and third volumes of St. Marc, *Abregé Chronologique de l'Italie*.

of the world. His doubtful parentage has given ample scope for truth and flattery to exercise their different tempers. The voice of the former has called him the son of a carpenter², while that of the latter has maintained his descent from an illustrious line of ancestors³. The historian of his life has however fixed upon Saona⁴, in Tuscany, for his native city, and all writers testify that Hildebrand⁵ was his primitive name: but his talents were of too splendid a cast, and the bent

² This ignoble extraction is asserted by Fleury, tom. xiii, p. 251. Dupin, Bib. Eccles. tom. viii. p. 32; and Hist. des Papes, tom. ii. p. 424. When Baronius allows and reconciles the low birth of Gregory, by the reflection that Jesus Christ, came into the world, according to the flesh, as the son of a carpenter, the sentence, to us, wears the form of barefaced impiety. See Annales Eccles. tom. xi. p. 413, 414.

³ The Jesuit Maimbourg, in his *Histoire de la Decadence de l'Empire*, Par. 1681, liv. ii. p. 218, firmly believes him "d'une illustre maison."

⁴ Paul Bernriedenses composed his *De Rebus gestis Gregorii Septimi Pontif. Maximi*, which is inserted in the *Rerum Ital. Script.* of Muratori, tom. iii. pars i. about forty years after the death of that pope. St. Marc displays his usual accuracy of criticism, when he observes, "sa prodigieuse credulité faisant peu d'honneur a son jugement, diminue très considerablement l'autorité qu'il devoit avoir come auteur contemporain." *Abregé Chronologique de l'Italie*, tom. iii. p. 237.

⁵ He is also known to writers by the name of *Hell-brand*. See Newton on the Prophecies, vol. ii. p. 247. It is curious enough to note Paul Bernriedenses, cap. ii. in his excessive admiration of his ecclesiastical hero, striving to interpret the etymology of Hildebrand into a presage of his future greatness.
Of

of his mind was too entirely directed to the purposes of papal ambition to be overshadowed for any continuance of time by the disadvantage of an obscure birth. Educated at Rome under the eye of the celebrated Laurent⁶, he possessed the most favourable opportunities (which it may be supposed his undeviating attention to his interests failed not to improve) of acquiring the esteem and favour of the great, and of turning into every path which might lead to his promotion. He first attracted public notice under the auspices of pope Gregory the sixth; but his rising prospects of greatness were presently clouded, by his patron being stripped of his pontifical robes in the council of Sutri⁷, for his irregular election. Gratitude, or necessity⁸, compelled him to accompany his disgraced master to his place of exile in Germany, whose death released him from the duties of attendance, when he embraced a monastic life in the abbey of Clugni⁹, and in that solitude waited, perhaps, with confidence and impatience, some

⁶ Baronius, tom. xi. p. 416. Dupin, *Bibliothèque Ecclesiastique*, tom. viii. p. 32. Maimbourg, *Hist. de la Décadence de l'Empire*, liv. ii. p. 219. Cave, *Historia Literaria*, pars i. p. 618.

⁷ *Hist. des Papes*, tom. ii. p. 333.

⁸ See Maimbourg, *Hist. de la Décadence de l'Empire*, p. 150.

⁹ Dupin, tom. viii. p. 32.

fortunate

fortunate event which should once more call him to Rome, and enable him to display, with success, his great abilities upon that conspicuous theatre of politics. If such were his views, he was not long disappointed in seeing them gratified. The discernment of Leo¹⁰, the ninth of that name who had filled the apostolic chair, may be commended when he admitted Hildebrand to his friendship

¹⁰ If the historian be not biassed by his personal prejudices, this story may claim our notice, as pointing out the first attempt of Gregory, when in a private station, to resist the supremacy of the emperor, and to assert the independence of the church. It is recorded by Otto, bishop of Frisingensis, who wrote in the middle of the twelfth century, that after the election of Leo IX. he set forth to Rome from France in his pontifical garments, and that in the progress of his journey he visited the abbey of Clugny, of which Hildebrand at that time was the prior. With a bold confidence, which he derived from the knowledge of his talents, he embraced this opportunity of addressing Leo upon the unlawfulness of receiving the papal crown from the hands of a layman however exalted his rank, and of the propriety of restoring the invaded rights of the church in regard to election, which act could not be displeasing to the emperor. He obeyed this advice; assumed the habit of a pilgrim, and took Gregory with him to Rome. See *Res Gestas ab origine Mundi*, Argent. 1515, lib. vi. cap. xxxiii. But some writers reject this story, because Wibert, archdeacon to Leo, when bishop of Toul, does not mention this transaction in the life of his patron. It is true he is silent respecting Gregory's persuasions; but they may be implied in these words: "*Inde humilitate magistra contra omnium apostolicorum morem, sumpto peregrino habitu Romanum arripuit iter.*" See *Vita Leonis*, Lutet. 1615, lib. ii. cap. ii. p. 73.

soon

soon after his election; and he did an acceptable service to the church in ordaining him subdeacon, and in committing to his management the declining monastery of St. Paul¹¹. By the mere force of his intriguing and diversified genius alone, he obtained and preserved an uncontrolled ascendancy over his four predecessors, Victor¹², Stephen¹³, Nicholas¹⁴, and Alexander¹⁵; and

¹¹ Fleury thus describes the ruinous state and relaxed discipline of the monastery: the zeal and success of Hildebrand, to regain its plundered revenues, to increase its members, and to enforce the strict performance of their duties. "Il lui ordonna soudiacre, et lui donna a gouverner le monastere de saint Paul, qui etoit tombe en decadence; jusques la que les bestiaux entroient dans l'eglise une des patriarchales, & que le peu de moines qui y restoient se faisoient servir par des femmes dans le refectoire. Hildebrand fit revenir les biens de ce monastere pillé par les seigneurs de Campanie, and y retablit une communauté nombreuse, gardant l'observance reguliere. Hist. Ecclesiast. tom. xiii. lib. cxii. p. 251, 252.

¹² The artful Hildebrand had already so insinuated himself into the favour of the clergy and people of Rome, that he was chosen by their unanimous consent to visit Germany for the solemn purpose of bringing them home a spiritual and temporal governor. Victor the second, he named for this arduous office, and under this pope, he was afterwards appointed to the honourable post of legate to France, although then only a subdeacon, to cure the obstinate disease of simony which then so generally raged among the different ecclesiastical orders. In the province of Lyons, he wrought a miracle, fit only to adorn the pages of those who seriously believe the infallible doctrines of the Roman church. See Hist. des Papes, tom. ii. p. 382, 383. Fleury, Hist. Eccles. tom. xiii. Liv. ex. p. 39.

¹³ The reputation of Hildebrand was so great under Stephen

and, in his exalted title of legate to Germany and France, he manifested such a full knowledge of his office, in all its various and important ramifications; that every tongue repeated his praise, and extolled his anxious concern to extend the glory of his character and religion.

A. D. 1073.—In the sixtieth year of his age, without waiting for the approbation of the cardinals¹⁶, by an irresistible impulse of the multitude¹⁷,

phen IX. that before the departure of this pontiff to Florence, to concert measures with his brother Godfrey, duke of Lorraine, for his elevation to the imperial throne, he issued a decree, with the consent of the clergy, that if he should die in his journey (and his ill state of health taught him hourly to expect that event), they should not proceed to an election till the return of Hildebrand, from the court of Agnes, empress of Germany, to whom he had been sent upon affairs relative to the church. See Petr. Damianus, *Epistolæ*, Par. 1610, lib. iii. epist. iv. p. 294.

¹⁴ For the bold and decisive part which he took in the election of Nicholas II. see *Hist. des Papes*, tom. ii. p. 393. Maimbourg, *Hist. de la Decad. de l'Empire*, p. 163, 164.

¹⁵ To behold with advantage the artful policy and fearless spirit of this *pope-maker* Hildebrand (if we may be allowed the epithet), surmounting every formidable obstacle which the arms of the turbulent counts of Tusculum and Galera, and the opposition of the empress Agnes prepared against him; examine the election of Alexander II. in *Hist. des Papes*, tom. ii. p. 403, 404. Maimbourg, p. 172—177; and Bower, vol. v. p. 223, 224.

¹⁶ For the origin and progress of the title of cardinal, the reader should consult Mosheim, *Historia Eccles. Sæcul. xi. pars ii.*

tude¹⁷, Hildebrand was saluted head of the Latin church; and not to defraud him of the praise of gratitude, we must observe that he took the name of Gregory¹⁸, at his ordination of presbyter and
 bishop,

pars ii. cap. ii. p. 397, 398, who displays, upon this subject, as usual, great learning and research in a very small compass.

¹⁷ While the clergy were celebrating the obsequies of Alexander II. in the Lateran church, the people cried out instantaneously, "Hildebrand is Pope, St. Peter has chosen him." In this manner does he describe his sudden election. See Greg. lib. i. epist. iii. But cardinal Bennon vehemently asserts, that he usurped the pontifical dignity: *De Vita Hildebrandi*, lib. ii. p. 15. These christian titles, however, of magician, devil, tyrant, which this gentle adversary bestows upon him, will not add to the authority of his book in the eyes of the unprejudiced. But the most authentic narrative of his election will be found in cardinal Arragon's life of this pontiff; apud Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Scrip.* tom. iii. par. i. p. 304, 305. The reader will probably smile, on being told, that Gregory imitated the cunning modesty of the first of that name, and petitioned Henry of Germany not to confirm his election. See Dupin, *Bibliothèque Eccles.* tom. viii. p. 32. Gregory was the last pope, the decree of whose election was sent to the emperors or kings of Germany before his consecration. See Pagi *Critica*. Ad Ann. 1073. In the pontificate of Nicholas II. that famous decree was made by the advice of Gregory, which fixed the future election of popes in the college of the cardinals, and for ever abolished the right of the emperor to nominate the successors of St. Peter. The whole of this decree is published in St. Marc, *Abregé Chronolog.* tom. iii. p. 276—282.

¹⁸ *Hist. des Papes*, tom. ii. p. 424. This custom of the popes to assume the name of one of their predecessors, is supposed

bishop, as a striking mark of his respect to the memory and virtues of his benefactor. To the exercise of his government he brought an understanding replete with experience, enlarged by study, and abundant in resources to depress his enemies and exalt his friends. The energy of a powerful mind, incessantly bent upon one subject, may lead to the accomplishment of such events, and triumph over such a train of impediments, as will astonish by their greatness, and embarrass by their multiplicity and weight, those who are not much accustomed to look into the book of intellectual operations. No man perhaps, secluded from all civil intercourse with mankind, had more devoted his whole days and nights to a single great pursuit, and had looked at the human character with a more piercing eye than Gregory. We can therefore reasonably account for, and impartially describe the success of his measures, without involving ourselves in the dark and endless labyrinths of fable, or, what is still more, courting the aid of fiction, rashly reposing our faith upon the interposition of papal miracles¹⁹.

Age

posed to have been introduced by pope Sergius II. whose surname entitled him to the awkward and ludicrous appellation of *Hogsmouth*. See Platina, *Vita Pontif. ad Sixtum IV.* p. 90.

¹⁹ With all the settled composure of a Man, who witnesses and describes some common transaction, Paul Bernriedensis relates

Age without abating his undaunted temper, had only cooled the natural effervescence of his passions, and given him the art of striking his most terrible blows of hostility, with the safe weapon of caution, like a skilful general, who can so concert his plans as to mow down the ranks of the enemy, without exposing his own men to the danger of retaliation. It is not to be supposed that the man who was trained up in the school of dissimulation, should

relates the signs and wonders which appeared to testify that Gregory was the peculiar favorite of Heaven. We shall produce a few stories, for our disbelief of which we should incur the reproach of infidelity, if this *philosophic* historian could return to the world. The two first may be comprised in few words.—A flame one time burst forth upon the head of Gregory, which changed his countenance into a more striking likeness of the prophet Elias, “*ad expressiorem similitudinem Eliæ*,” if there had been any correspondence between their ages, when this prodigy happened. While Gregory was washing his hands in water, it suddenly became milk—A sick woman who drank it, with the full persuasion of its miraculous efficacy, was restored to her health upon the spot, “*confestim eam ab ægitudine liberavit*.” When the virgin Mary could give the most clear and positive proof of her anxiety that the honour of Gregory should not be suspected, we must not attempt to define the measure of his favour with the mother of God. After Gregory had undertaken the defence of a bishop, accused of simony, he entered, according to his usual custom, in the Basilic of St. Peter, and prostrated himself before the virgin. To his astonishment he beheld her bathed in tears,

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and

should ever reconcile his mind to the practice of truth and candour; but his religious ardour and love of popular applause, two passions, cherished with a parental fondness in his breast, and daily deriving fresh vigour from a singular and fortunate train of circumstances, urged him to turn with disdain from the confined path of deception, lest the one should be gradually damped, and the other perpetually disappointed. What he thought he freely declared, what he believed he firmly maintained; nor can his enemies (and the most hasty spectator of his life may conceive their number) ever discover him, in the extremest hour of danger, relaxing into the weakness of despondency, or influenced by the cowardice of despair. In a happy and daring confidence of his abilities, he viewed no effort above his strength, no event above his command.

and expressing a sort of grief at some fault he had committed. In a flood of tears he finished his prayers, and then ran to the Lateran palace, to salute the pope. Gregory there perceived the cause of the virgin's dissatisfaction; and he hastened to remove it, by clearing himself, to the satisfaction of his accusers, of the charge of receiving presents in the defence of that bishop. Upon his return to offer up his prayers to the same image, by a miracle, of an opposite nature to the first, she welcomed him with a smiling air, that seemed to applaud his triumph. "*Converso miraculo videt eam arridere, sibi tanquam triumphatori.*" The reader may find more tales, in this historian, coined in the same mint of blasphemous absurdity. For what I have related, see cap. iii. cap. xxiii. and cap. xxxv.

In

In delineating the character of the man, whose single exertions effected a most memorable and mighty revolution in the Roman church, it may be expected that we should describe with minuteness, at least examine with attention, the scope and variety of his literary attainments. His enemies will not be displeased, nor perhaps his warmer admirers deeply scandalized, if we make a fair confession of his deficiency in the branches of polite learning. In the garden of literature, Gregory no doubt saw many flowers beautiful to the sight and fragrant to the smell ; but the reflection, after the first attractive sensation was past, how unsubstantial were the benefits which they yielded, how short their duration, and how soon they might be destroyed by any sudden blast of malignity, little tended to render them lasting objects of his desire and attention. He therefore cultivated, with no diligence, and embraced with, no enthusiasm, any study in the smallest degree incompatible with the nature and attributes of his ecclesiastical office. To admit then that the tone of his eloquence was by turns concise and diffuse, but always adapted to his subject, that his thoughts were solid and piercing and his theological learning deeply imbued with the spirit of the then orthodox faith, will be allowing him such perfections, that even his violent adherents will be satisfied we have not

attempted to distort either the sentiments or words of his most partial biographers.

But in the most extensive sense of the word the Roman pontiff ought to be called an experimental philosopher ; and the grand source of all his discoveries was his knowledge of the human heart. By that acquirement he was habituated to reduce within the sphere of his controul, all the different ministers of wickedness, which the crimes of persecution, fraud, injustice, and oppression have engendered ; while directed by this unerring guide, he could trace, without any ostentatious display of subtle and profound reasoning, all the wordly passions in their true bearings and relations ; could extend his views to remote, and shift them directly to immediate consequences ; and thus was he alike enabled to assume one moment the mask of hypocrisy, and the next to step forth with the air of truth, to render all things and all men subservient in a great measure to his own steady purposes of interest and ambition. Of the domestic habits and virtues of this lofty speculator in papal rights, tradition has not been prodigal ; and what little it has been pleased to communicate, has been cut into such curious and opposite pieces by the partiality of friendship, and the malevolence of hatred, that it is utterly unsafe for the impartial historian to handle them. Unavailing are our researches to
find

find a conductor sufficiently familiarized to the presence of Gregory, to make us so fully acquainted with the man, under all the gorgeous trappings of papal greatness, that modern judgment may boldly exercise the freedom of reproach and praise, without incurring the risk of propagating a series of fictions. By some faint glimmerings of truth we can however discern that his natural austerity of manners, and hardihood of character, early impressed him with a strong contempt for all those pleasures and indulgences, which are so much coveted by the luxurious, the wealthy, and the great ; that he practised abstemiousness without parade, and exactness of life without affectation. His affability to his domestics and inferiors, gained him their love and veneration. While ambition constituted the ruling passion of his soul, and absorbing, in its predominating influence, all the meaner vices which degrade and sully private life, he was not only enabled to act with that unbounded liberality to his partizans, which, while it gratified their avarice, and strengthened their attachment, rivetted firmer than ever the chains of their dependence : but being divested of all subordinate and sordid cares, he invariably appeared before his enemies with that undaunted resolution, and stern dignity of temper which awed their proceedings, and extorted their admiration and reverence.

Perhaps the imagination of man cannot well conceive a character, invested with functions, more closely allied to the real interests of order and virtue, morality, and religion, than the historian erecting his tribunal of judgment on the transactions of past ages, for the benefit and instruction of his own ; and if he is properly elevated by a just sense of the greatness of his office, he must inevitably discard all those petty and groveling prejudices, which lead directly to the avenues of faction, and soar above that narrow and bigotted fondness for his own opinions, which, eventually, must deface the beauty of truth. Could we so far deviate from the line of our duty, as to be seduced into an approbation of the names, with which the opponents of Gregory have branded his memory, we should form him of one entire composition of fraud, lasciviousness, and blasphemy, difficult to be matched, and scarcely ever to be surpassed.

But they degraded their judgment and exposed their malice, without advancing their design, by striving to introduce into the papal picture events which stagger, by their absurdity and grossness, Credulity itself, while defects of the most indisputable and shocking kind, were glaringly visible to the dullest eye.

Injustice may palliate, reason defend, and innocence justify, frequent struggles for emancipation
from

from the arm of slavery; but it may be pronounced with confidence, and believed with safety, that revenge, ambition, and tyranny are crimes inconsistent with the practice of piety, and the most opposite to the christian faith of forgiveness, humility, and benevolence. The apostolical Gregory possessed, and exhibited to the world, these vices in all their meridian odiousness. In seeking to restore the rights of the Roman church he proceeded with such an overbearing arrogance, and with such an unrelenting and undistinguishing rage, as alarmed the jealousy of princes, and scattered the seeds of discord throughout all Europe. While influenced by the vain, but constant dread of meeting any sudden and powerful opposition from quarters where he always expected, and exacted the blindest submission to his will and authority, he suffered many hideous gaps to appear in the fences of morality and religion, which, if they had scandalized his eye, and provoked his amendment, would have unquestionably gained him the praises and veneration of the wise and virtuous. Mahomet breathing pestilence, famine, and slaughter, with the Koran in his hand, offers not a more horrible and disgusting subject for christian contemplation than Gregory with his spiritual weapon excommunication, stalking forth a monster of destruction in the celebrated contest of Investitures, which, if it had caused no other evil than

that single one of producing the factions of Guelf and Ghibbelin, is sufficient to have given it an undisputed pre-eminence of rank in the bloody history of plots, tumults, assassinations, and conspiracies.

More insulting, if more can well be imagined, to the rights of sovereigns, and more expressly declaratory of his unbounded ambition and utter disrespect for the humble doctrines of a crucified Saviour, were his preposterous, but unsuccessful endeavours to extend the ensigns of papal dominion throughout every province and kingdom of the world, To deprive the clergy of the chaste and lawful enjoyments of connubial love, under the amiable colour of establishing a greater purity of manners, and of increasing the sanctity of the priestly character, but, in reality, under the insidious design of making the connection between them and the temporal interest of the church more inseparable than ever, was an attempt, from its boldness and novelty, perfectly correspondent with the scheming and enterprising mind of Gregory. After trampling under foot every moral and religious principle, and, with unexampled audacity, assuming a supreme judgment in spiritual and temporal affairs, over every nation, without an exception, our emotion would be that of astonishment, if, in the moment of victory, he had worn the gracious countenance of mercy and compassion to Henry the fourth of Germany, an emperor who wanted
friends

friends, rather than talents, to assist him in stopping the copious torrent of papal usurpations. From that fixed principle in the human character, the incessant wish for novelty of political prospect, may we reckon that the transactions of the most important personages have rapidly descended into oblivion among the far greater part of mankind. But it may be reasonably questioned whether the actions of the vicar of Christ, although the fresh and alluring colour of novelty can no longer be spread over them, do not convey, to this present hour, such awful and instructive lessons, no less in a civil than religious point of view, that, as such, they may be judged worthy of finding a distinguished place in the remembrance of the remotest posterity.

It might perhaps have been expected that Gregory, especially in the opening of his great and difficult undertakings, would have listened to some suggestions of prudence and caution ; but his violent and imperious temper, and the eagerness with which he panted for celebrity of name, were insuperable obstacles to his chusing these for his confidential counsellors. The very first step which he took, after he was mounted upon his throne, fully reveals his determination to signalize his undaunted spirit and abilities in humbling the power of princes, and exalting the state of the church. In the year preceding his pontifical reign,
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the death of Drogon occasioned a vacancy in the bishopric of Macon. By the unanimous consent of the clergy and people of that city, Landri, archdeacon of Autun, was elected to fill his place, and Philip, king of France, had approved their choice, but his consecration had been deferred, because the French monarch, with a wise regard to his privileges, had refused him the investiture of his benefice upon gratuitous conditions. In two letters, addressed upon this subject to Roelen, bishop of Chalons²⁰, and Humbert, archbishop of Lyons²¹, we behold Gregory, with an air of uncommon boldness, commencing his spiritual exploits. "We have received intelligence," observes the pontiff, in his first epistle, "that among the other princes of our times, whose wicked avarice has committed depredations upon the church of God, and reduced to the ignominious condition of a slave their mother, to whom the precepts of God enjoin honour and respect, Philip, king of France, has applied himself with such unwearied assiduity to oppress the church of France, that he may be considered to have pur-

²⁰ See Greg. Epist. lib. i. epist. xxxv. apud Baronium. *Annales Eccles.* tom. ix. p. 431, 432.

²¹ Greg. Epist. lib. i. epist. xxxvi. The good sense and candour of Fleury cannot refrain from observing upon this letter, in spite of all his papal prejudices, "Nous n'avons point encore vû, que se sache de telles menaces contre un Souverain." *Hist. Eccles.* tom. xiii. liv. lxii. p. 261.

sued this detestable crime to the highest point it can reach. And our affliction is the greater, because we know the wisdom, religion, and strength of his kingdom, and its attachment to the Roman church." In the same angry tone he observes, that he has been only moved to suspend his spiritual decrees, which may be stiled the canons, by the strong assurance of the chamberlain Alberic, that his royal master would correct his abuses, and dispose of no more churches but by the advice of the pope. This promise is then required to be performed by his allowing Landri, without recompence, to exercise the functions of bishop of Macon; and that it should become his duty, as well as interest to obey, this pretender to universal dominion, declares, that the king should either renounce his shameful commerce of simoniac heresy, and permit that persons should be intrusted with the sacred offices of proper qualifications, or that his subjects, struck with the sword of a general anathema, should withdraw their allegiance, if they were not willing to be expelled from the bosom of the christian faith²². Gregory concluded, as he began, in the

²² "Nam aut Rex ipse repudiato turpi simoniace hæresis mercimonio, idoneas ad sacrum regimen personas promoveri permittet; aut Franci pro certo, nisi Fidem Christianum abjicere maluerent, generalis anathematis mucrone percussi illi ulterius obtemperare recusabunt."

language of insolent command; and the bishop Roclen was ordered to profit by his familiar access to Philip for the purpose of effecting the moderate desires of the papé. But his furious zeal, for the extension of papal sway, transported him beyond all bounds of policy, when he armed the archbishop of Lyons with the authority of a secular judge to procure the consecration of Landri; and in case this decisive opposition to the king should be productive of no salutary advantage, he pronounced his determination of investing him at Rome with his sacred charge. This last remedy Gregory was obliged to embrace²³, as the bishops of France were less disposed to incur the displeasure of their sovereign, than to become instruments of papal ambition.

In following the path of civil and religious persecution, which Gregory perpetually trod without remorse, and under the mask of devotion, and the fair pretence of promoting the public good, it may perhaps be judged proper to notice, chronologically, the events of this period, in order to enable the reader to mark, with precision, the rapid increase of usurpations during his memorable reign of violence, bloodshed, and oppression. The trumpet of war had now been sounded; and the intrepid pontiff marched forth to battle with a

²³ See Hist. des Papes, tom. ii, p. 430.

full confidence of vanquishing, in the end, by his spiritual engines, every powerful opposition which should proceed from the force of habit, of prejudice, of nature, and of reason. Both the times, and the circumstances of his situation, Gregory now conceived as highly inviting to carry into execution his long premeditated plans of reforming the church, and checking the power of sovereigns.

A. D. 1074.—Accordingly he assembled a council at Rome, in which it was proposed and agreed, that every rigorous measure should be practised to destroy that odious monster simony; but directly adverse to the precepts of our Lord, and his apostles St. Paul ²⁴, and totally impracticable with the feelings and passions of man, was that very extraordinary sentence of this assembly, which pronounced, that the matrimonial bed must be abandoned by the sacerdotal order, and that they who were married, should either renounce their wives or concubines (their degrading appellation in this decree), or else their sacred office. Circular letters to all the bishops of Europe accompanied these decrees, in which the pontiff exacted the strictest performance of the resolution of this solemn assembly, and stated that the enforcement of the heaviest penalties would be the certain conse-

²⁴ See the twelve first verses of the nineteenth chapter of Matthew, and the first epistle to the Corinthians, chap. vii. v. 9.

quences of their disobedience²⁵. But the second of these decrees contained a doctrine so little accommodating to the strongest propensities of the human character²⁶, that it could not for a time be counterbalanced by all the temporal advantages derived from wearing the livery of papal servitude. In every province, where this decree was communicated, the spirit of animosity displayed itself in tumults²⁷ which disturbed the peace and order of the state. In Italy and Germany, as soon as this chaste law was publicly announced, injured Nature hoisted her standard of opposition, and upheld it with such firmness as would have at least convinced a less obstinate ruler of the Roman church than Gregory, of the unpopularity of this decree, and

²⁵ See Mosheim, *Hist. Eccles. Sæc. xi. pars ii. cap. ii. p. 405.*

²⁶ The remarks and objections of the clergy against this despotic mandate, were such as would be suggested in every age by the feelings of nature, and might be justified by the laws of reason. See them in Baronius, *Annales Eccles. tom. xi. p. 448.*

²⁷ Matthew Paris, in his valuable work, *Hist. Angl. Lond. 1571, lib. i. p. 11*, for the publication of which we are indebted to the zeal and discernment of the celebrated archbishop Parker, in the reign of Elizabeth, notices the opposition which this decree called forth among the priests of England. In the Belgic and Gallic provinces, we learn from the *Epistola Clericorum Cameracensium ad Remenses pro uxoribus suis*, which finds a place in the great work of Mabillon. *Annales Benedictin, tom. v. p. 634*; and from the *Epistola Noviomensium Clericorum*

and might have tempted him to relax from the excessive severity of his demands. The flame of hatred burnt with such fury in the breasts of the Milanese priests, that many of them threw up their benefices rather than be cut off from the enjoyments of an institution authorized by scripture, and certainly beneficial to the interests of society. In the enthusiasm of their rage, for the violated dignity of matrimony, they were even hurried to disclaim for ever all obedience to the Roman church, and to stigmatize, with the odious appellation of *Paterini*²⁸, or Manicheans, the pope, and all those who professed themselves advocates for the establishment of celibacy. The prudence and moderation of Sigifred, archbishop of Mayence, allowed his clergy six months to deliberate upon abandoning their conjugal ties, and preparing themselves for a future life of perfect chastity, in order that the solemn rites of religious worship might be henceforth performed with a becoming purity of mind and body. But when this allotted time had expired, and the

ricorum ad Camerabenses, contained in the *Museum Italicum* of the same historian, Lutet. 1787, tom. i. p. 128—130, how great was the indignation and disturbance excited by this decree.

²⁸ Mosheim, *Hist. Eccles. Sæc. xi. pars ii. cap. ii. p. 406.* For a copious explanation of the name *Paterinus*, see a very valuable note in the same page.

archbishop

archbishop called for their final determination, he found the image of their carnal pleasures too strongly impressed on their senses, to render them either admirers or imitators of the continence of the pope. While the sanguinary proposal which escaped from the lips of some of the ecclesiastical crowd, that Sigifred should be dragged from his episcopal seat and suffer death to deter his successors from attempting a similar injustice towards the clergy²⁹, sufficiently exposes to us the perilous situation of the archbishop, and disinclination of these professors of the gospel to break the nuptial bond.

It is an observation made, with more malice than truth, by a modern historian³⁰, whose reverence for the ecclesiastical character will certainly not be regarded as the distinguishing feature of his numerous writings, that the younger clergymen complied cheerfully with the popes decrees in this particular, and that the chief reluctance appeared in those who were more advanced in years. But his philosophy should have taught him to reject this opinion, as being incompatible with all the known and fixed principles of the sensual system of man; and that young and old equally testified their dislike and opposition to a decree, which, to have executed in a manner

²⁹ Baronius, *Annales Eccles.* tom. xi. p. 448.

³⁰ Hume, *Hist. of England*, vol. i. p. 271.

agreeable to the wishes of Gregory, a new generation of beings should have been created, cast in a mould of superior purity to the corrupt race which then existed. His acute penetration might also have discovered, *if it had suited his purpose*³¹, that the extreme licentiousness of manners, ascribed to the Roman clergy in general, has solely risen from their being denied the indulgence of their natural and lawful passions.

Such a memorable triumph, over nature and reason, Gregory never could have expected to obtain, with all his horrid violence³² and indefatigable perseverance, if the clergy could have prevailed on their sovereigns to resist the daring encroachments of their spiritual censor. But destitute of this support, and connected together for the maintenance of their rights as men by no well digested plan, after the first furious sally of resentment,

³¹ The hand of public taste has undoubtedly crowned the brows of Mr. Hume with a wreath of historie and philosophic fame; but his adversaries will remark, and his friends must both allow and lament, that its verdure would have been far more lasting, if he had not displayed such a bigotted scepticism in the former character, and, in the latter, not discovered such an illiberal propensity to step aside from the track of his subject, to disfigure the divine excellencies of christianity.

³² The barbarous pontiff, delivered up to the civil arm his rebellions clergy, and their punishment was such, as could only have been tolerated by the mistaken zeal and criticism of an *Origen*. See Mosheim, p. 407.

their strength evaporated, and the pope became undisputed master of the field. With the same daring boldness Gregory had aimed his axe at the lofty tree of simony, in the sanguine hope of lopping its branches by a quick succession of well directed strokes. But here the repercussion of each blow fell upon the tenderest parts of the kingly prerogative, and, with that prodigious weight, as brought forth war with all its terrible train of calamities. By expatiating upon the practice of simony, which chiefly infected the French and German courts, we may swell the size, but cannot add to the interest of this design. Our apology will therefore be accepted, and our impatience excused by the judicious reader, in breaking through the shackles of events (respecting which it may be asserted, that the palm is left doubtful, whether they least solicit attention by their novelty, or attract curiosity by their importance), in order to lead him directly to that celebrated controversy of Investitures, which, if it be considered in no other light than a systematic attempt on the part of Gregory to blow up, at one grand explosion, by a deep laid mine of artifice, all those privileges which the custom of ages, and principles of reason, have fixed among sovereigns, embraces too many important circumstances, not to excite inquiry, and to merit attention.

Conformable

Conformable to his plan of aggrandizing the power of the Roman see, his legates were dispatched to Henry the third, or (as some call him) the fourth of Germany, and future emperor of the west, to undertake the difficult commission of engaging this prince to summon a council for the trial and punishment of those ecclesiastics who had violated the canons by their simoniacal practices; at Nuremburg³³ they delivered the message of the holy father to Henry; their reception was gracious, and the zeal of the pope applauded for his endeavours to extirpate simony. But although the emperor was not perfectly secure from the revolt of the Saxons, yet he could not be induced to give up his authority in his own dominions, and the mortifying discovery was made to the pope, that his empire over the minds of Henry and his bishops was not yet so great as to assemble a council in Germany³⁴, in order to stretch the arm of justice upon offences, which were no

³³ Baronius, tom. xi. p. 437, 438.

³⁴ See Maimbourg, *Hist. De la Décadence de l'Empire*, liv. ii. p. 228, 229. *Hist. des Papes*, tom. ii. p. 432. If we may believe Fleury, the motives which occasioned the opposition were not of the purest, or of the most independent kind. *Hist. Eccles.* tom. xiii. liv. cxii. p. 270. Pfeffel however is more indulgent to the bishops, and willing to think that they solely refused the demand of the legates from an honourable determination to maintain their rights. See *Abregé Chronologique d'Allemagne*, tom. i. p. 214.

less scandalous to the purity than insulting to the authority of the church.

The boldest of statesmen must sometimes practice the arts of dissimulation, and the projects of Gregory, we must conclude, were not sufficiently ripe for execution when he affected to express his joy for the conduct of Henry to his ambassadors³⁵, and intreated him to command the attendance of the German prelates at his next council.

The same motive to delay the decisive effort, the same language of soft respect, are visible in his second letter, some passages of which are worthy to be transcribed, as from them we may trace the first vital spark of the crusades. After commencing with an exordium, which describes with peculiar complacency his own virtues, and daily and nocturnal labours in the vineyard of the Lord, the warmth of his attachment to his royal correspondent, in words too ostentatious for sincerity to dictate, and prudence to trust, his wishes that their counsels may be blasted who labour, with a diabolical wickedness, to sow discord between him and the emperor, he draws a horrible picture of the sufferings of the christians in the east, of their pressing supplications to be delivered from the galling weight of the Saracen yoke, and of their pious fears lest they should lose the title

³⁵ See Greg. Epist. lib. ii. epist. xxx. Apud Baronium, tom. xi. p. 439.

of christians. "Touched with the keen anguish of their woes (pursues the sympathizing pontiff) I have called upon all who profess to reverence the name of Christ, to shed their blood in defence of his laws; and I have the satisfaction to observe, (by the inspiration of God as it should seem), the Italians and Ultramontanes hearken to my voice. Upwards of fifty thousand men are now in arms to set forth on this expedition, solicitous to obey me as their chief and pontiff, and eager to let loose their vengeance upon the enemies of God, and to march under the conduct of our Lord to his sepulchre. By one motive, and that a very powerful one, I am urged to put myself at the head of this magnanimous enterprise; the church of Constantinople divided from us upon the subject of the Holy Ghost, manifests a disposition to be reunited in faith and love with the apostolic see, while nearly all the Armenians, who have wandered from the catholic doctrine, and almost all the christians of the east, wait for the decision of St. Peter to compose their different opinions." The peroration of this remarkable epistle conveys a fine illustration of the deceitful character of Gregory. "But as a vast design requires a suitable correspondence of counsels, and of succour from the Great, I expect both of these from you. If it be the will of God that I should undertake this expedition,

I commit³⁶ the honour of the Roman church, after God, to be defended by the firmness of your zeal, and to be guarded as your holy mother. Acquaint us, with all possible speed, what determination your wisdom, inspired by heaven, has taken upon this momentous subject³⁷."

But the time now rapidly approached when Gregory was to drop the mask of christian humility and devotion, and announce his pretensions to universal dominion. Systematic in his career of ambition, as his first apostolical rebuke fell upon Philip, king of France, his menaces of excommunication were levelled at the same person.

Some pilgrims who were stopped in France, on their route to Italy, perhaps for state reasons, and some Italian merchants, whose effects had been seized at a fair, probably because they had defrauded the duties of the kingdom³⁸, furnished him

³⁶ "Post Deum tibi Romanam Ecclesiam relinquo, ut eam et sicut sanctam matrem custodias, et ejus honorem defendas, Greg. Epist. lib. ii. epist. xxxi,

³⁷ In another letter (see lib. ii. epist. xxxvii. apud Baron. p. 451), addressed to the faithful of St. Peter, especially to the Ultramontanes, Gregory displays his zeal for the execution of this devout enterprize. But it is well known, that the deliverance of the Holy Land was not undertaken till the 15th of August, in the year 1096; in the pontificate of Urban II. See Guillelmus Tyrius, Historia Belli sacri, Bas. 1564, lib. ii. cap. i. p. 28.

³⁸ The conjectures of St. Marc, *Abregé Chronologique de l'Italie*, tom. iii. p. 628,

with

with a fair occasion of renewing his quarrel with this prince, and commencing his denunciations. Through an ecclesiastical channel he conveyed his anger and rage against the French monarch; and in this command, to the bishops of France, Henry might have discerned his future despot. "If the king of France will not submit, separate yourselves from his communion, and lay the whole kingdom under an interdict, that all eyes may behold my resolution to close the days of his oppression." The reader is already too familiarized with the style and sentiments of Gregory to require that they should be dilated; he will therefore be satisfied with the observation, that, after this injunction, the most striking feature in this letter to the archbishops of Rheims, Sens, and Bourges, are the disgraceful epithets which he applies, with liberal profusion, to the character of Philip³⁹. But words are weak weapons with which to drive a great sovereign from his throne; and till he could employ in his service a more effectual artillery to enforce his orders, the bishops continued inactive and disobedient, and the king secure and incorrigible⁴⁰.

³⁹ Fleury gives the whole of this abusive epistle, in his *Hist. Eccles.* tom. xiii. p. 282—284. But Philip was not a fit subject to be intimidated by his menaces, if we examine his character in the pages of Mezeray. *Hist. de France*, tom. ii. p. 61.

⁴⁰ The author of the *Hist. des Papes*, tom. ii. p. 437, in a concise, but emphatic manner, remarks, "Gregoire perdit son temps, son encre, et son papier, à écrire contre le Roi Philippe."

But no defeat could impair the inexhaustible vigour of Gregory, or shake the invincible firmness of his soul. Emboldened, rather than humbled, by disappointment and opposition, the active pope convened a second council at Rome, in the first week of lent⁴¹, 1075, whose very first decree, the excommunication of Henry's five ministers for simony, presaged a similar sentence to their master. And in this council also was ushered into the world that famous decree respecting the right of Investitures, which to the astonishment of princes, and against every radical rule and maxim of legislative policy, and in open defiance to the invariable course of popular prejudice, most preposterously and wickedly aimed to demolish the civil, and establish upon its ruins the ecclesiastical power. In every transaction interesting to the view from its important political consequences, it is justly expected that the labours of the historian should sweep away all the difficulties arising from the distance of time and place, which may tend to disorder the perspicuity, or darken the truth of his narration; but if he embarrasses the understanding, and oppresses the attention of the reader, by an elaborate display of the minute diligence and learning, which he has

⁴¹ The usual time then of holding a general council. See Maimbourg, *Hist. de la Décadence de l'Empire*, liv. ii. p. 227, 228.

employed

employed to render clear and decisive, what has long been regarded as doubtful and equivocal, he will certainly step beyond his province, without the consolation of making any valuable improvement to his undertaking. It is our desire and it will be our study to keep this remark in view relative to the origin and effects of a contest, which may be said, from the singular events it produced, to have changed the very face of popedom.

Much useless digression will be avoided, and some desultory reasoning spared, by declaring at once that the result of our inquiries directs us to fix this as a position, confirmed by the most impartial and authentic evidence, that to exalt the mitre above the sceptre, to release the clergy from all ties of dependance upon their sovereigns, in order that he might alone be called their master, and not to provide an antidote to the corruptions of courts, suitable to the proper views of the christian church, did Gregory assemble this council to pronounce the following edict. "*Anathema against whoever received the investiture of a bishopric or abbacy from the hands of a layman, as likewise against those by whom the investiture should be performed*"⁴². From the æra when the sovereigns
of

⁴² Mosheim, p. 408. Anastatius, p. 411. Pagi, Critica, tom. iii. Ad Ann. 1075. Was the pope's ignorance real or pretended when he published this edict, that by the tenth canon

of Europe began to signalize their liberality to the clergy in grants of territories, lands, forests, and castles, we may date the origin of the Investiture of bishops. While the obligation of the law was both easy and honourable that they should repair to court, and take the oath of allegiance to their monarchs as supreme proprietors, and receive from them a solemn mark, in order to obtain possession of the lands or tenements derived from their favour and bounty. After the same manner it is well known to those readers who are the least conversant with the feudal system, nobles and those who had distinguished themselves by the fame of their actions, acknowledged and received the valuable donations of their sovereigns. But at a less remote period we may define the origin of confirming bishops by the delivery of the ring and crosier, the ensigns of their sacred function.

We read, but with a sentiment of distrust, that in this manner St. Rambert was appointed arch-

canon of the first council of Orange, held in the year 441, it was allowed, that if a bishop build a church in the territory of another, either from the motives of benefit, or convenience, he should enjoy the right of presenting clerks to officiate in it. A canon, as Dupin justly observes, "pourroit passer pour l'origine des Patronages." See *Bibliothèque Eccles.* tom. iv. p. 369: nor could he forget the two laws of Justinian, in his *Novellæ*, Bas. 1561, *Constitutio* lviii. p. 193; *Constitutio* cxxiii. p. 360, which say, that all founders of churches, and their heirs, may claim the same privilege.

bishop

bishop of Bremen in the age of Lewis⁴³, the son and successor of Charlemagne, whose surname of pious, indicates his respect for the clergy, but not their attachment⁴⁴, if we survey their behaviour in his turbulent reign. The suspicious criticism of Mosheim has been inclined to believe, that this custom was first introduced at the time when Rome yielded to the government of Otho the great; and this opinion, as it is enforced with such learning and judgment, we feel disposed to embrace. Upon the death of a bishop, his pastoral ring and staff were received and transmitted to court by the magistrate of the city, or governor of the province in which he resided; and when the emperor or princes delivered these badges of episcopal rank into the hands of a candidate, the vacancy was filled. It became the duty then of the new bishop, thus invested by his sovereign, to repair to his metropolitan, who did not perform the ceremony of consecration, from a custom ratified by time, until he had received and returned the

⁴³ See *Historia Archiepisc. Bremensium cum Appendice*, Lugd. Bat. 1595, p. 5, apud Lindenbrogium, *Rer. German. Septentrional. vicinorumque Populorum Script.* Hamb. 1706.

⁴⁴ See Gaillard, *Hist de Charlemagne*, tom. iv. p. 33—36, for the ignominious deed drawn up by the bishops, and which Lewis was compelled to sign by Ebon, archbishop of Rheims, whom he had raised from the meanest condition. Indeed the whole transaction is highly disgraceful to the humanity and gratitude of that episcopal pastor.

ring and crosier into the hands of the favorite candidate.

But this invaluable prerogative of the crown, originally however reckoned among the rights of the people⁴⁵, would not have been exercised after this form, if the conduct of the clergy, in the election of their bishops and abbots had not been tainted with injustice to their sovereigns. The ceremony of presenting a stalk of a leaf, a bough, or a wand, when this privilege was first plucked from the grasp of the subject, alike confirmed bishops and abbots in their dignities, and counts and knights in their feudal tenures.

When envy or malice accuse, it is fair to believe that the crime will be magnified. Yet we shall presume to think that the innocence of the clergy may be questioned, when they were charged with electing some of their own order upon the death of a bishop or abbot, and consecrating them without a moment's delay, in order effectually to

⁴⁵ When Fra-Paolo asserts that the right of electing bishops and abbots originally belonged to the people (see *sopra* Benef. Eccles. cap. viii. and Mosheim to the clergy), I prefer the opinion of the former; for pre-supposing their spirit of research and discernment to be equal, the turn of studies, situation, and country of Mosheim, might have all concurred to prejudice him on this occasion, against the rights of the people. M. de Heïss, in his *Hist. de l'Empire*, Amst. 1733, tom. i. p. 229, 230, also considers this right to be originally vested in the people—and he is no great advocate for their privileges.

deprive

deprive their sovereign of indulging either his liberality or avarice. Nor shall we hesitate to commend the justice, at least the policy of those princes who stopped these proceedings, by commanding the ring of the deceased to be instantly transmitted to them, the delivery of which constituted, as has been already exemplified, the most essential part of consecration⁴⁶. The limited nature of our review prohibits a deeper discussion upon the origin of Investitures; but the hope may be reasonably entertained that enough has been written upon this subject to open the eyes of the unbiassed reader, and to satisfy his doubts, if such ever existed, that the profane handling by laymen of the

⁴⁶ See Mosheim, p. 408, note r. Instead of chiefly following one steady guide, like the chancellor of Gottingen, whose abilities are not exceeded by his moderation and candour, it were an easy but surely unprofitable labour to swell this part of our work, by presenting our reader with the detailed opinions of the adherents and opponents of the pope upon this long contested right of investitures. Those who may wish to examine the principal writings of the time favourable to the side of the pope, upon this important dispute, should peruse the *Apologia pro Gregorio VII.* Ingolst. 1611, the production of the famous Jesuit Gretser. While the learning and diligence of Melchior Goldastus have collected the opinions of those who maintained the power and independence of Henry. Baronius, De Marca, and that herculean labourer, in the path of compilation, Muratori, are of course conspicuously zealous on a question which so deeply involved the papal interests;—but even some truths may be extracted from their different falsehoods.

crozier, which denotes the spiritual shepherd, and the ring, the emblem of a nuptial bond between the bishop and his see, was not so offensive to the piety of Gregory, as inimical to his aim of absolute and unconditional power. While from a train of bloody evidence he will learn, that to destroy the influence of sovereigns in the election of bishops, he was insensible to the infamy of being styled the author of war and carnage.

Gregory, it may easily be supposed, lost no time in communicating a decree to Henry so flattering to his pride and ambition ; and if he still wished to conciliate the friendship of this prince, the sentiments of his letter, it must be allowed, were not calculated to produce that salutary effect. He reproached Henry, and not in the gentlest terms, with the crime of keeping near his person, and employing in his service, ministers against whom the church had passed sentence of excommunication. He complained also of his suffering bishops to perform their spiritual jurisdictions after their deposition, of his neglecting to execute the decree against simony and the incontinence of the clergy, of his protecting Godfrey, the usurper of the Milanese see, and of countenancing his partisans, the Lombard bishops, though expelled from the communion of the church, by spiritual authority. Nor can this conclusion be viewed as a nearer approach to the soft language of peace ;—the king
was

was forbidden henceforth to interfere with ecclesiastical preferments, to dispose of vacant churches upon any pretext whatsoever, and threatened with apostolical vengeance, if he refused to acquiesce in these conditions ⁴⁷.

The insolence of these demands highly exasperated Henry. But as he had not yet taught the lessons of obedience to the Saxons, he was obliged to keep the calm possession of his temper, and, while revenge was in his heart, he ⁴⁸ professed to the pope his sincere intention of henceforth conforming to the canons in the disposal of bishoprics and other ecclesiastical preferments; assuring him also that he would adopt the most effectual method to ensure submission to his decree against simony and incontinence; and upon his return from Saxony, a solemn embassy should repair to Rome to restore the harmony of their friendship, by adjusting the points of dispute existing between them. Upon the edict however against lay Investiture, his policy preserved a discreet silence.

In the meantime a conspiracy was formed at Rome, equally unexampled for its boldness, and detestable for its wickedness; the event of which had nearly terminated all the ambitious schemes of Gregory. Its features of importance doubtless

⁴⁷ See Arnulp. Hist. Mediol. lib. iv. cap. vii. apud Muratori, Rer. Script. Ital. tom. iv.

⁴⁸ Paul Bernried, cap. cvi. Baronius, tom. xi. p. 466.

will appear, both from national and religious causes, more striking to the eye of the papal than to the protestant historian, but the latter will not suffer it to escape his attention, lest malice, or prejudice, should impute to him the odious and contemptible design of studiously seeking to suppress the virtues of fortitude and clemency, which Gregory, most unquestionably, displayed upon this trying occasion. Without believing that the author of it, Cencius, was a *dæmon* of hell⁴⁹, according to the representations of a furious bigot, I can clearly discern he was cruel, bloody, intoxicated with pride, of an uncontrolled authority, regardless of all decency

⁴⁹ For such epithets as the following ones, let us hope that the most inveterate foe to mankind would not have the hardihood to apply to any, except those who were of the above description: "*Fuit itque quidam vir in urbe perditionis filius (Cencius) omnium hominum sceleratissimus et iniquissimus, cujus quidem memoria aërem ipsum commaculat; pater furum et socius perjurorem, clypeus fallacis, et hasta mæchi, gulea homicidarum, et scrutum traditionis, tegumentum machinationis, custos susurrationis, anxietas conspirationis, coloratio fraudis risusque deteptionis, et cryptæ malæ conventionis; ad cujus confugium omnis hæreticus, omnisque sceleratus properabant, cujus ala velabat scandala, sub cujus umbra Leviathan ipse tortuosus coluber, dulciter et sauriviter quiescebat.*"

Such a string of abusive terms we should conceive difficult to find in the whole compass of ancient and modern history. We shall not therefore apologize to the reader for transcribing these epithets of this historian, as they make, in this instance, the fairest pretensions to originality of any that we have ever perused.

in

in the indulgence of his sensual pleasures, and respected neither the rights of the pope, nor his people, in the wide exercise of his flagrant rapine : but whether the voice of faction⁵⁰, or personal revenge⁵¹, urged him to his desperate conduct, is now buried in the most impenetrable darkness.

While the devout pope was celebrating at Christmas the service of the night, in the church of Santa Maria Maggiore, attended by a small number of clergy and people (for the rain came down in such torrents that few felt inclined or were able to leave their houses), this bold wicked man prepared for the execution of his long meditated enterprise. Apprised of the situation of Gregory by the active vigilance of his spies, Cencius has-

⁵⁰ If we believe Paul Bernried. cap. xlvi. Guibert, archbishop of Ravenna, the famous Robert Guiscard, the future saviour of the pope Henry and all those who had been excommunicated, were acquainted, and approved of Cencius's designs. I blush to see the learned and moderate cardinal Fleury favorable to this assertion of the prejudiced monk. See Hist. Eccles. tom. xiii. liv. lxii. p. 306.

⁵¹ That more weighty historian, Lambert Schaffnaburg, who wrote in Germany at the time Paul Bernriedensis composed his life of Gregory, affirms, that Cencius was solely prompted to this conspiracy from the desire of revenging his personal wrongs. For the pope had before excommunicated him, under the persuasion that his iniquitous proceedings would be checked by that sentence, "*arbitrans hoc saltem modo improbitatem ejus coerendam.*" See Lambert Scaffn, apud Baronium, tom. xi. p. 469.

tened to the place of action, followed by a troop of armed men, with fleet horses to convey him and his accomplices from the scene of danger, should any unforeseen accident arise to defeat their project.

When they arrived, the pope was at the altar solemnizing mass in the chapel of the manger; on a sudden his ears were assailed by the loud but dissonant cries of terror and exultation, and to his astonishment, though not to his dismay, the doors of the chapel were broken open by the conspirators, who rushed in with their naked swords. The chief object of their vengeance remained silent and undaunted, when one of the villains aimed a blow which fell upon his forehead. He expressed no sign of indignation at their barbarous treatment, but merely raised his eyes to heaven; they dragged him by the hair, violently insulted his sacred person, stripped him almost of all his pontifical garments, and forcibly carried him to the tower of Cencius, with the design, as was supposed, of removing him from Rome.

The tumultuous noise of bells and trumpets soon declared the danger of the pope; the time, the public suspicion, the notorious character of Cencius, all revealed the place of his confinement; and, at the dawn of day, rich and poor, nobles and plebeians, stood before the tower of the prefect

fect with arms in their hands, and resolution in their hearts to achieve the deliverance of their beloved pontiff. Cencius, who probably viewed the success of his attempt in the indifference of the Romans for the fate of their apostolic shepherd, was struck with the deepest consternation upon the appearance of this formidable crowd. And we at once recognize the abject despair of his mind in throwing himself at the feet of his prisoner, and supplicating for pardon. While the humanity and prudence of his judge may be discerned, in sending him on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem to expiate his crime⁵². Upon this return of sense and duty the pope approached a window, and waved forth his hand to the people as a signal to desist from the attack, and to call the attendance of some of their leaders to the tower. Mistaking his dumb motions, in the heat of their zeal and loyalty, they stormed the prison. At the sight of the holy father, besmeared with blood, the grief and resentment of the people testified their love and patriotism; and amidst their unfeigned acclamations of joy, he was conducted to the church of Santa Maria Maggiore, to finish his sacerdotal func-

⁵² Arnulph writes that he died in this year; "faucium ulcere suffocatus." See Hist. Mediol. lib. v. cap. vi. p. 43. apud Muratori, Rer. Ital. Script. tom. iv.

tions⁵³. A proud and glorious moment in the life of Gregory, and which might have taught an advocate of the christian religion to look down with a philosophic contempt upon the empty greatness of all human ambition, and to consider that the spirit of arrogance and oppression was the most opposite to the character of its divine author, and consequently unsuitable to be assumed by him who affected to devote his whole life to the reformation of the church.

Having chastised the Saxons, Henry was no longer afraid to act with the vigour and independence of a powerful sovereign. So far therefore from displaying an obsequious submission to the last decree, he now even proceeded to the bold measure of admitting again to his confidence, and reinstating in their honours, those whom the pope had excommunicated⁵⁴. Surprised, provoked, and alarmed that the king should thus presume to assert his rights, in open defiance to the judgment of the late synod, Gregory dispatched to him a long epistle, filled with an alternate succession of reproaches, menaces, exhortations, remonstrances,

⁵³ I have consulted the original historians Lambert Schaffn. apud Baronium, tom. xi. p. 469. Paul Bernried. cap. xlix. l. li. lii. liii. liv. lv. lvi.; and where their accounts differ, I have presumed to follow my own judgment. See likewise Fleury upon this subject; Hist. Eccles. tom. xii. p. 306—308.

⁵⁴ See Baronius, tom. xi. p. 471.

and injunctions ; the direction of which may be fairly construed into a declaration of war. " To king Henry health and apostolic benediction, if he obeys the apostolic see in a manner that becomes a christian king ⁵⁵."

A. D. 1076.—Both priest and king had now assumed such an hostile aspect, that they were become too impatient either to wish or to propose any terms of accommodation. Gregory had the honour or infamy of darting the first lance, when he summoned Henry to answer in person the crimes of which he was charged, at Rome, on the Monday of the second week in Lent ; and this audacious mandate also declares, that unless his attendance is punctual to that very day, he shall be immediately cut off from the body of the holy church by an apostolic interdict ⁵⁶. Henry answered and revenged this unexpected insult, by dismissing the legates with every mark of ignominy, and by convoking a council at Worms, to reduce the papal power. In this assembly, chiefly composed of bishops, princes, and lords, obedient to the wishes of Henry, it was not long before these fatal words dropped from their lips : " Gregory, whose life is blotted with the foulest crimes, is no

⁵⁵ Greg. lib. iii. epist. x.—" Si tamen Apostolicæ sedi, ut Christianum decet Regem, obedieret ; apud Baron, tom. xi. p. 471.

⁵⁶ Lambert Schaffn. apud Baronium, tom. xi. ubi supra.

more entitled to the appellation of pope, or to the power of binding and unloosening, according to the privilege of the Papal See⁵⁷." The bishops of Wirtzburg and Metz, more cautious, more moderate, or more impartial than their brethren, ventured however to declare, that the condemnation of the pope, without the consent of a general council, or without the appearance of respectable accusers and witnesses, was not agreeable to the canons; and they might have added incompatible with the principles of justice. But the quick and artful zeal of William, bishop of Utrecht, a staunch friend to Henry, presently overruled their objections, and obtained their signatures, by the observation that their refusal left them no alternative but that of renouncing the allegiance they owed the king⁵⁸.

⁵⁷ Cardinal Hugo, surnamed the White, deposed by Gregory for the irregularity of his manners, and the imbecility of his understanding, or for his sacrilegious boldness in giving absolution to the excommunicated, (see Paul Bernried. cap. lxxvii. and Lambert Scaffn. apud Baron. tom. xi. p. 474), took a leading share in the business of this assembly, by laying before its members a history of the life and education of the pope, which bore all the marks of a theatrical fiction, "*deferens secum de vita et institutione Papæ scenicis figmentis consimilem tragiædram*, but which was received with the most implicit belief and joy,—so accommodating is the spirit of prejudice.

⁵⁸ See Sigonius, *Hist. de Regno Italiæ*, lib. xi. p. 219. Lambert Scaffn. apud Baron. tom. xi. p. 474.

Before

Before the separation of the bishops, they employed some part of their time in composing a letter for the perusal of the pope, which, exposing and justifying the grounds of their proceedings⁵⁹, required his immediate acquiescence to their sentiments. The king's letter to Gregory may be almost regarded as a transcript of the bishops, except, that the style is more reproachful, acrimonious, and magisterial. In his address to the clergy and people of Rome, the monarch chiefly expatiates upon the intolerable pride of the pope to his fellow bishops and to crowned heads; and his extravagant and unlawful passion for exercising an absolute dominion over christians of every denomination. He exhorts them to let their efforts be united in delivering the church from the impending tyranny of Gregory, which must be inevitable if he is not pushed from the seat of his usurpation⁶⁰. With these three

⁵⁹ It would form too bulky a note to transcribe the epithets applied to Gregory in the sentence which these bishops pronounced against him, or else it might be amusing, perhaps instructive to the impartial reader to see what silly, incoherent, and intemperate expressions the gravest of men can use, when once they join a faction. De Mornay has collected them from the original texts in his *Mysterium Iniquitatis*, p. 248. But it is fair to suspect that his version may be tainted with prejudice, as almost every page of his work displays the most undisguised marks of his animosity against the popes.

⁶⁰ Paul Bernier, cap. lxvii. Lambert Schaffn, apud Baron. p. 474.

letters Roland, a clerk of Parma⁶¹, came to Rome, the evening before the opening of the council which Gregory had convened in the first week of Lent. No sooner therefore had the synod assembled than Roland appeared; and while he presented to the pope the letters of the king and the council of Worms, pronounced, in an audible voice, these unexpected words: "Descend immediately from that place which you have so illegally obtained, by the command of Henry, my master, and the whole body of the Transalpine and Italian bishops." Then turning to the Roman clergy, in the same bold and laconic language, he summoned them to repair to the king at Pentecost, "to receive from his hands a pope in the room of this ravenous wolf." Impatient of such insolence of speech, John, bishop of Porto, started up from his seat, and demanded the arrest of Roland, whose blood would undoubtedly have paid the forfeit of his temerity, had not the authority of Gregory interposed⁶².

It was with some difficulty that the pope could procure silence in this general scene of surprise, confusion, and rage. When the violence of their zeal was however sufficiently abated for him to obtain a hearing, well knowing, from repeated trials, the obsequious temper of his hearers, with

⁶¹ Ciaconius, Rom. 1601, p. 330.

⁶² Paul Bernried, cap. lxi.

a composure, which could not inwardly have been felt, if we are the least conversant with the spirit of the man, he addressed them to the following effect. "My children, let not sedition disturb the peace of the church. Behold the dangerous times foretold by scripture, when men shall be covetous, proud, and disobedient to their parents⁶³. Offences must come; and it is the promise of our Lord to send us as sheep in the midst of wolves. It behoves us then to blend the mildness of the dove with the wisdom of the serpent; and without hating anyone, endure the folly of those who seek to violate the law of God. We have lived long enough in peace; God is willing that we should begin again to water his harvest with the blood of saints. Let us prepare for martyrdom, if necessary, for the service of his law, and let nothing ever separate us from the charity of Jesus Christ⁶⁴. We carry in our hands a sign which God has given us to discern the victory of the church⁶⁵." The most unqualified approbation accompanied these words. It was the unanimous sentiment of the assembly,

⁶³ Timothy, epist. ii. cap. iii.

⁶⁴ I have greatly condensed this speech. The whole of it may be found in Paul Bernried. cap. lxx. and lxxiv.

⁶⁵ This marvellous sign was the egg of a chicken found near the church of St. Peter, on the shell of which was engraved by nature a serpent, armed with a sword and shield, struggling in vain to rise from the ground. See Paul Bernried. cap. lxxviii.

that

that life was not be valued in so good a cause. Before they quitted the church of our Saviour, where this council was held, the deposition and interdict of Henry and his adherents were proposed and resolved.

Nor was any procrastination apparent in carrying this sentence into execution. The very next day the letters of the king and the bishops were produced and read in the council. When after a dexterous speech against Henry, which drew an answer from his auditors full of the strongest acknowledgements of his power, and of their wishes that he would not tamely suffer the church to be insulted by a blasphemer, tyrant, usurper, and apostate (for such gentle epithets did they apply to the king); the bold pontiff, arising from his seat, fulminated a sentence of excommunication against his royal enemy, of which it may be difficult to determine, whether impiety, presumption, or injustice is to be considered as the most prominent feature. "O! Prince of apostles, blessed St. Peter, hear your servant, whom from infancy you have nourished, and delivered from the hands of the wicked till this day, because I have displayed my fidelity. Beside yourself, I call upon the holy mother of God, and your brother St. Paul as witnesses, that, against my inclination, the church of Rome appointed me her governor, and that exile is far
more

more desirable to me than to exercise your divine commission by any secular contrivance ; but since I am placed by your grace, and not by my own merit, in this elevated situation, I conceive it to be your intention that the christian world should obey me according to the power of binding and loosening, which power I derive from God, as your visible successor. In this persuasion then of my supreme authority, for the honour and defence of the church, on the part of God, the Almighty Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and by your power, I forbid Henry, the son of the emperor Henry, to receive from this time the submission of the Teutonic and Italian kingdoms, who has presumed to announce himself, with an unprecedented pride, as the insulter of your church. I absolve all christians from their present and future oaths of allegiance to him, and I prohibit every one from treating him with the distinction of a king ; for he who aims to depress the authority of the church, is unfit to retain his own. Since therefore he has disclaimed that obedience which he owes to me as a christian, nor resorted to the Lord, whom he deserted by his commerce with excommunicated persons, and contemned my counsels for his temporal and spiritual welfare, and studied to excite divisions in your church, I now anathematize him in your name, that none may be ignorant that thou art St. Peter, that upon
this

*this rock the Son of the living God has built his church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it*⁶⁶." The⁶⁷ bishops, whom the different motives of reason, interest, and gratitude had tempted to espouse the cause of Henry, could not expect to escape the papal thunderbolt upon this occasion.

The first, and, to judge from his conduct, not the most unpleasing duty imposed upon the pontiff, when the council broke up, was to inform the world, in a letter addressed to all the faithful, that he had released Henry from the cares and pleasures of royalty⁶⁸. The firebrand of discord

⁶⁶ For this speech, see Paul Bernried, cap. lxxvi. Cardinal Arragon, p. 305, 306, tom. ii. apud Muratori, Rer. Ital. Script. This sentence against Henry is harsh and displeasing, even to eye of a papist: Otho, bishop of Frisingen, a strenuous defender of the popes, may be said to express his disapprobation of it in this passage. "Lego et relego Romanorum Regum et Imperatorum gesta, et nusquam invenio quenquam eorum ante hunc a Romano pontifice excommunicatum, vel regno privatum." See Res. Orb. Gest. lib. vi. cap. xxxv. Dupin, De Antiqua Ecclesia, Dissert. vii. p. 475—479, has collected the sentiments of the different writers who were astonished at the daring novelty of this sentence, M. Heiss, very justly considers that by this edict, Gregory placed the ladder for his successors to climb up to sovereignty. "Voilà le premier pas que les Papes firent en la personne de Grégoire VII. pour secouer le joug des empereurs et se rendre souverains." Hist. de l'Empire, tom. i. lib. ii. p. 238.

⁶⁷ Baronius, tom. xi. p. 478.

⁶⁸ See Greg. Epist. lib. iii. epist. vi. apud Baron.

spread

spread over a kingdom is almost sure, to touch and quicken some combustible materials of revolt; which lay dead and hidden in the calm time of peace. Upon the strength of Gregory's proceedings, some of the German princes conceived the present moment favourable to the design of breaking their chain of feudal dependence; and their fears wisely reckoned upon a safe shelter under the papal banners, should fortune in any sudden change of her capricious temper, prove averse to their criminal attempts. Superstition, that mighty engine of papal power, spiritual as well as temporal, now rapidly turned the stream of popular attachment against the German prince; even some of the bishops, so prompt in speech, so bold in action, at the council of Worms, ignominiously deserted Henry, when they beheld him encompassed with the terrors of excommunication; but the reader will be surprised that I should impute to William⁶⁹, bishop of Utrecht, the crime of forgetting his loyalty, and

⁶⁹ In the same church, where he had derided the excommunication of the pope, we are taught to believe that the powers of the body and mind of this champion of Henry, being weakened by sickness, he was asked by an officer of the king's if he should deliver any message to him. "Hoc inquit ei mittit mandatum, quod ipse et ego et omnes iniquitati ejus ferventes, aeterni damnati in perpetuum." See Bruno, *Histotia Belli Saxonici*. A fine story, if true, for the pope and his friends to have added to their stock of miraculous materials.

assuming

assuming a penitential tone. Guibert⁷⁰, archbishop of Ravenna, a man of great influence from his talents and situation, however assembled the bishops of Lombardy at Pavia, and manifested his zeal for the king by confirming the judgment of the synod at Worms; his support served to balance the scales of interest more equally between the contending parties; yet it was productive of this pernicious consequence of plunging them both deeper in all the horrors of anarchy, tumult, and confusion.

To abate, indeed to silence, the murmurs of those who were so unreasonable and profane as to think that Gregory had grossly violated the nature of his office, in presuming to exercise the power of the sword, and that the people who gave, alone possessed the right of depriving Henry of his scepter of dominion, he condescended to unfold his high prerogatives, in a long epistle, addressed to Herman, bishop of Metz, one of those prelates who sacrificed their king and conscience, to regain the friendship and favour of this self-appointed judge of the world.

The epistles of Gregory we have shewn, are only worthy to be selected for imitation, and to be praised as models of genius and piety, by those who never looked beyond the precincts of a con-

⁷⁰ Fleury, Hist. Eccles. tom. xiii. liv. lxii. p. 319.

vent for eloquence, nor ever reflected that the performance of external ceremonies, with apparent sanctity, and a prolix discourse, spun out by spiritual quotations, exhibits no proof that the heart was pure or the doctrine sound. But if this headstrong man really intended to achieve the reformation of princes, the weapons that he used, and the armour in which he was clad, were both unsuitable for so glorious a victory. Instead of those arguments, which always having a moral purpose, work shame, while they awaken respect and veneration; instead of that dignified humility, which displays a mind fixed above the things of this world; and instead of that God-like benevolence, which casts an eye upon human frailties, Gregory presents himself to us, in his epistle, paradoxical, ambitious, haughty, and unforgiving. In what an odious perfection are all these last mentioned qualities united in the following epistle; but as we do not wish, nor is it at all necessary, to fatigue the attention, by a too minute representation of papal imperfections, we shall only produce some of those passages which are more peculiarly applicable to this design.

“ Although the impertinence of those who affirm that we are not entitled to excommunicate kings, is undeserving of an answer ” (such is the dogmatical language of Gregory), “ yet to restore them to a wholesome doctrine, let us examine the
words

words and examples of the fathers." After this modest exordium, we confess that it is not to our surprise, though to our indignation, we behold him outstep the strict limits of historical truth in search of evidence⁷¹ for his first assertion. He then proceeds to ask, with all the insolence of imaginary triumph, whether kings were excepted in this command of our Saviour to St. Peter;—"Feed my sheep"⁷²;—and is it not likewise evident, that in the power which was granted him of binding and unloosening, all persons were

⁷¹ The authorities which he names in proof of this dangerous authority being invested in the rulers of the church, are fairly examined and overturned by the candour and learning of Fleury. See *Hist. Eccles.* tom. xiii. liv. lxii. p. 321, 322.

⁷² Perhaps some unavoidable offence is created by the historian so often interposing his own sentiments in the progress of this work; but while the train of events are of that injurious description as to provoke the most impartial temper, he is not likely to correct that fault; nor can he, in this instance, withhold his censures at the matchless audacity of Gregory in advancing, and the blind submission of the people believing that these words of our Lord, in the twenty-first chapter of St. John, gave the church a temporal power, instead of that more moderate and becoming one of instruction. As often as the eye of the pontiff caught the venerable and orthodox volume of Basil, reposing on the shelves of the Vatican, he must have blushed, if susceptible of shame, at recollecting how widely he had deviated from the sense in which that father received these words. "This same power of instructing all," says Basil,

was

were included⁷³. Perhaps they may be inclined to place the royal above the episcopal dignity; the difference of each may be clearly demonstrated in the origin. The one has been invented by human pride⁷⁴, the other instituted

was granted by Christ," *πᾶσι καὶ τοῖς ἐπισκοπικοῖς ποιμένοι καὶ διδασκαλοῖς*. See Basilus, Opera, Par. 1732, tom. ii. Constitutiones Monastica, cap. xxii. p. 573.

⁷³ The words in the eighteenth chapter of St. Matthew, v. 18, "Verily I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven," are understood and explained by the beloved disciple of St. John, as applicable only to the remitting or retaining of sins; see chap. xx. v. 23. How preposterous then appears the claim of the pope to depose the chief magistrate of a state from these words. Besides this power was not delegated to St. Peter alone, but to all the disciples of Christ; see St. Matthew, chap. xviii. v. 18. And if we consult the following Fathers, we shall find it to be their assertion (indeed it is sufficiently evident in the holy text), that there was no distinction of spiritual rank or power between St. Peter and the rest of the apostles. See Origenis, Opera, Bas. 1545, tom. ii. p. 39. Cyprian, Opera, Oxon. De Unitate Ecclesiar, p. 107, 108. Ambrosius, Opera, Par. 1603, in Psalm xxxviii. David, tom. iii. p. 744. Chrysostom, Commentarius in Epistolam ad Galatas D. Erasmi. Interp. Bas. 1527, cap. ii.

⁷⁴ Throughout the whole of this epistle, Gregory may be regarded as extremely unfortunate in his assertions. When he derives all monarchy from so base an origin as human pride, is it possible that he could forget the decisive words of St. Paul in his epistle to the Romans, chap. xiii. v. 1; "*Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers; for there is no power but of God, the powers that be, are ordained of God.*"

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by

by divine goodness. The former is perpetually seeking after vain glory, the latter always aspiring to a celestial life. Thus St. Ambrose has expressed himself in his pastoral; that the mitre as much transcends the diadem as lead is excelled in value by gold; and the emperor Constantine took the last seat among the bishops⁷⁵." This letter is followed by another to the bishops, lords, and faithful of the Teutonic kingdom; in which, still holding his unquestionable right to excommunicate Henry, he labours to vindicate his conduct to that prince, in sentences worked up with an equal mixture of truth and falsehood⁷⁶.

Much time had now been employed, and much dexterity exerted by Gregory, before he could draw to his side characters of sufficient weight to lead the multitude, and thus to contribute immediately to the success of his designs. At last he had the unchristian pleasure of beholding the⁷⁷ princes of Swabia, Bavaria, Carinthia, Rodolph, Guelph, and Berthold, and the bishops of Wirtzburg, and Worms, all eager to stain their names with the crime of rebellion. Grown more bold

⁷⁵ Upon this letter of Gregory's, cardinal Fleury having assumed an erect posture of independence, talks with equal sincerity and wisdom. See Hist. Eccles. tom. xiii. liv. lxii. p. 322.

⁷⁶ See Paul Bernried. cap. lxxviii.

⁷⁷ Lambert Schaffn. apud Baronium, tom. xi. p. 484.

and unjust than ever by this powerful confederacy, the revengeful priest, now meditated to exalt another to the throne of Henry, and for this purpose he addressed, a third time, the lords, bishops, and people of Germany. "If Henry," says the authoritative pontiff, "does not reform, we empower you to elect another master; but be careful that your choice is not obnoxious to the Roman see, and the empress Agnes⁷⁸." A weak, vain, and credulous woman, who could forget the natural affection of a parent, to obtain the praises, and assist the views of the pope.

Upon the contents of this letter, the standard of rebellion was openly erected at Ulm. And the fifteenth of August, and Tribur, near Metz, were the time and place appointed by a numerous body of princes, bishops, and nobles to hold an assembly, which should heal the dissensions of their kingdom, or, in other words, support the pretensions of Gregory, and favour the hopes of Rodolph, who looked with a proud eye to the vacant crown. The lords of Saxony, Bavaria, Lorraine, and lower Germany were conjured, in the name of God, to disregard their ordinary concerns for a time, that they might promote the public good at this meeting.

⁷⁸ Greg. Epist. Lib. iv. epist. iii. apud Baronium, tom. xi. p. 483, 484.

When the day arrived, the influence of the pope was testified by the crowd of illustrious persons who pressed forwards to obey his commands. To swell the pomp, and to regulate the opinions of this assembly, Sighard, patriarch of Aquileia, and Altman⁷⁹, bishop of Passau, appeared in the character of apostolical legates. Part of their train was adorned, or disgraced by some laymen, who once possessed power, wealth, and titles; but resigned them for beggary, and the fleeting applause of the pope⁸⁰. They were exhibited before the assembly, and instructed to declaim upon the justice

⁷⁹ To an extraordinary circumstance indeed we are told this bishop owed his restoration to the see, from which he had been driven by the hatred and oppression of Henry. Whilst the pope and his cardinals were in the very act of debating the restitution of Altman, and some of the latter betraying strong symptoms of reluctance to the design, a dove flew through the church, and perched upon the head of Altman; upon which the astonished Gregory immediately took off his own mitre and placed it upon that of the bishop, to silence all opposition. For this anecdote, see Hist. Eccles. tom. xiii. liv. lxii. p. 329. I should wish to be informed, what historian authorizes Bower to style Altman bishop of Padua:—but this is not the first inaccuracy of this kind, that I have noticed in this fierce and undistinguishing enemy of the popes.

⁸⁰ “Ces bons Laiques,” says Fleury, Hist. Eccles. tom. xiii. liv. lxii. p. 329, 330, “ne vouloient communiquer avec personne qui eût communiqué en quelque maniere que ce fût avec le Roi Henri depuis son excommunication, jusques à ce que celui—là eût été absous par l’évêque Altman.” If the reader
peruses

tice of their patron's conduct to Henry, and to promise his consent to their proceedings. But any device, however miserably deficient in ingenuity, if it only bore the papal stamp, was sure to be admired by this superstitious age.

Six days were consumed in deliberations, in which time, the complaints of those who had been injured by the king were heard, believed, but we cannot find any authority to add, redressed. The result of their deliberations was such as might be expected from the violent and prejudiced temper of the men; their monarch's abdication, and the investing of another with his regal office.

While these resolutions were forming, the excommunicated Henry, with the few courtiers who still followed his drooping fortunes, had fixed his residence at Oppenheim, on the opposite side of the Rhine. The sovereign whose greatness is so much reduced as to be compelled to supplicate his rebellious subjects for pardon and reconciliation, must not flatter himself with the prospect of success in his petition. Each day, deputies repaired to the diet with the promises of their monarch to correct the abuses which had been

peruses the remaining lines of this paragraph, I think he may be inclined to fall into my opinion, that the confessor of his christian majesty was not a little ambiguous in his meaning of the epithet *bons*.

committed in his government, and to submit in future his actions to the judgment of the princes; they were even authorized by Henry to say, so much was his spirit humbled by their revolt, that he would place the reins of administration in their hands if they only allowed him to retain the titles and ensigns of royalty. But the only answer they deigned to return to these repeated assurances of his reformation, was the bitter reproach of his never having performed what he promised. To mortify his pride still further, they added, that while he lay under the anathema of the pope, they even offended their own consciences by holding any communication with him; and that, as the papal sentence had released them from all oaths, and allegiance, they would justly be arraigned for their folly in not seizing the opportunity which providence gave them of tendering their homage and services to a more worthy ruler.

It was now resolved by the confederates to attack their sovereign next morning, as all obstacles to their passage had been removed by the archbishop of Mayence conveying the boats from their station, when he forsook Henry to give a timely support to the determination of the assembly. Henry, aware of his danger, collected all the troops which could be found in that neighbourhood, with the intention of assaulting them as soon as they had passed the river;

river; but the discovery of this design stopped the march of his adversaries, and taught them to practise safer arts for his depression. At the break of day, the deputies of the princes appeared before the king, with the unfair proposal of appointing the pope, the sole arbiter of their differences, at an assembly which should be convened in the city of Augsburg upon the purification of the virgin; this offer was also coupled with the threat, that unless Henry made it his indispensable duty to obtain absolution before the year and day of his excommunication, he should ever despair of ascending his throne, while, to attest the sincerity of his faith, if he acceded to these conditions, they required, among other painful sacrifices, his immediate separation from all those who had embraced the magnanimous resolution of never deserting his cause, and his retirement to Spire, with the bishop of Verdun, in the character of a private individual, without even the decent and reasonable privilege of performing his devotions in the church. The popularity of Henry had so much declined, and his spirit was so much broken, that, without a murmur, he ratified the demands of his refractory subjects.

The hardships and dangers which Henry voluntarily encountered in his journey to meet the pope, fully bespeak his miserable state, and earnest de-

sire to avert the impending stroke of papal enmity. Apprised of the departure of Gregory for Germany, in the depth of the winter, with his son, and wife, and a slender train of attendants, he shaped his course through Burgundy, as all other roads to Italy were rendered inaccessible by the vigilance and number of his foes; arrived at Savoy, where his brother-in-law, Amadeus, extorted for his free passage the gift of an ample province, and after traversing the roads of ice, and the precipices of the Alps, at the imminent risk of his life, he at last finished his perilous journey to the great joy of the bishops and counts of Lombardy, who welcomed him, with a kingly reception, upon his descent from the mountains⁸¹,

Against the wishes of the Roman nobles, who professed to tremble for the safety of their pope, Gregory departed for Augsburg in the month of January, under the powerful escort of the countess Matilda. This extraordinary woman and great benefactress of Rome⁸², the daughter and heiress
of

⁸¹ See Lambert Schaffn. apud Baronium, tom. xi. p. 484, 485, 486,—491, 492.

⁸² In the year 1077, she disposed of all her immense wealth to the Roman church; and, in 1102, this gift was solemnly renewed;—"pro remedio animæ meæ et parentum meorum, dedi, et obtuli ecclesiæ sancti Petri, per interventum Domini Gregorii Papæ VII.;" the words of the devout and liberal
countress

of Boniface, marquis of Tuscany, and the dutchess Beatrix, whose vast possessions entitled her to the first rank in Italy, had been married to two husbands⁸³, Godfrey, duke of Lorrain, surnamed the crook-backed, and Guelph, duke of Bavaria; from the first of whom she was liberated by the weapon of an assassin⁸⁴, and, from the second, by the friendly arm

countess in this famous Chartula Mathildis, Comitissæ, super Concessione Bonorum suorum Romanæ Ecclesiæ. Donizon, in his Vita Mathildis, apud Muratori, Scriptores Rerum Italicarum, tom. v. p. 384, has preserved this second act at the end of his poem, as the first was lost during the great troubles at Rome, which followed the death of Gregory. See a judicious note of Mosheim, upon the nature and extent of this donation, p. 404, note i.

⁸³ A third husband, the celebrated marquis Albert-Azo, the second, has been given her by the inaccuracy of some historians, but their obstinate ignorance has been very ably exposed by that learned critic St. Marc, in his Abregé Chronologique, tom. iv. p. 1241—1253.

⁸⁴ The fatal wound which this prince received in a place, and in a part of his body that cannot be translated, with decency, is thus related by Lambert. "Godfrey, duke of Lorrain, was killed in the city of Anvers by the treachery, as it is believed, of Robert, count of Flanders: cum enim quadam nocte quiescentibus omnibus ad necessitatem naturæ secessisset, appositus extra domum Spiculator confodit eum per secreta natum, relictoque in vulnere ferro aufugit." The same historian adds, that he lingered seven days after this infamous deed. Berthold, of Constance, in relating the same fact, assigns him a more ignoble assassin, and a more speedy death: "turpiter

arm of divorce⁸⁵, The character and adventures
of

"turpiter a quodam Coquo per posteriora cum ad necessarium sederet vulneratus ante *mediam noctis* expiravit." Bruno, in his history of the Saxon war, likewise records this horrible transaction. For these passages, see *Origines Guelficæ*, Hanov., 1570, tom. i. lib. iii. cap. v. p. 445. Can it be affirmed with safety that Matilda was wholly guiltless of the death of her husband?

⁸⁵ The historians of the times assign so many different causes for their separation, that it is utterly impossible to discover the true one. If we consult the chronicle of a grave dean of the church of Prague, we must attribute the divorce to the conjugal impotence of the duke. I shall abridge his curious and circumstantial account of this affair, without offending, if possible, the delicacy of the reader. Two successive nights did the enamoured Guelf make the attempt to enjoy the pleasures of the matrimonial bed; but his labours were ineffectual, and he was provoked to exclaim before the countess, that some witchcraft, *aliquod maleficium*, was the cause of his disappointment: determined to shew him the injustice of his accusation, *a tertia die sola solum ducit in cubiculum, ponit in medio tripodas, et desuper mensalem locat tabulam et exhibuit se sicut ab utero Matris nudam et inquit, En quæcunque latent, vel omnia patent, nec est ubi aliquod maleficium.* The duke was still oppressed by the same difficulties, upon which the furious and disappointed countess seized her confused partner by the top of his head, and after giving him a violent blow, *magnum alapam*, she thrust him out of her chamber, while his ears still wrung with these indelicate, but expressive sounds of her resentment and scorn:

"*I procul hinc, Monstrum regnum ne pollue nostrum,*

"*Vilior es galba, projecta vilior alga,*

"*Si mibi visus eris cras morte mala morieris.*"

Cosmas

of the great countess are a problem in history⁸⁶; whether she deserves to be called pure⁸⁷ or lewd, wicked

Cosmas adds, that the duke fled covered with shame, and revealed, *omnibus suis confusionem sempiternam*. See *Chronica Bohemorum*, Hanov. 1607, lib. ii. p. 39. But in that stupendous pile of learning the *Origines Guelficæ*, which has been heaped together by the different labours of a Leibnitz, an Ecchard, a Gruber, and a Scheid, this story of the venerable Cosmas is arraigned for its falsehood, and the author for his credulity. See tom. i. lib. iii. cap. v. p. 452.

⁸⁶ This assertion the reader may be inclined to credit, if he peruses the *Abregé Chronologique* of St. Marc, p. 1231—1316. who, in the fourth volume of that very valuable work, has poured forth a stream of learning upon the origin, birth, marriages, life, and death of Matilda, no less profound, than clear and extensive.

⁸⁷ Among the group of historians, who have accused the pope and Matilda of a criminal intercourse, Mosheim must be included; and when a writer like him, whose name must be mentioned with reverence, as a faithful historian, an acute theologian, and impartial critic, joins the defamatory throng, it is but fair to suppose that he is solely urged by those reasons which carry in his mind the irresistible force of truth. As we cannot expect to find the naked truth in the uniform pages of panegyric, I shall not quote the ancient works of a Donizon, a Mellini, or a Paul, to maintain the innocence of Gregory and the Countess. But it is incumbent upon me to say, that the authentic Lambert attributes the "*incesti amoris suspicionem*," between the pope and Matilda, "*fautoribus regis et præcipuè Clericis*" (the married ones), apud Baronium, tom. xi. p. 447, whose motives of malevolence need no explanation to the reader. St. Marc, *Abregé Chronologique*, tom. iv. p.

wicked or innocent, is dark and doubtful amidst the opposite testimonies of her numerous historians. Her carnal or spiritual love for Gregory urged her to a constant attendance upon his person, when left in the state of widowhood and freedom,

As soon as these illustrious travellers reached the city of Vercelli⁸⁸, in Piedmont, they received the alarming intelligence of Henry's design to meet them, and of the numbers that had flocked to his standard upon his arrival in Italy. Matilda, fearful lest the king should exchange the language of submission for that of hostility, upon this unexpected support, hastily removed her precious charge to the impregnable fortress of Canossa in the Apennine. But every apprehension of Henry's flying to arms, with the spirit of a monarch, was instantly

1266, acquits them both of the disgraceful charge; and Bayle, in his *Dictionnaire Critique*, Art. Greg. VII. has delivered the following favorable sentence, whom none can accuse of wearing the livery of papal servitude. "Le pape le plus pacifique et le plus universellement aimé n'eut pu échapper les traits de la médisance, s'il eût eu avec une Dame les liaisons très étroites qu'Hildebrand eût avec Mathilde. Jugez si un pape aussi violent que celui-ci, et qui se étoit fait tant d'ennemis, pouvoit éviter d'être diffamé par l'attachement réciproque qui étoit entre lui et cette comtesse.

⁸⁸ See Albert Krantzius, *Historia Saxonia*, Franc. 1580, lib. v. p. 109.

dispelled

dispelled on the appearance and submission of his excommunicated friends. Wrapped in haircloth, with their feet bare, and countenances full of woe, the bishops and laymen who had signalized their zeal for the king, presented themselves to the pope, humbly to implore his absolution. The bishops were ordered each of them to retire to a separate cell, to hold conversation with none, and only to take one abstemious repast in the evening. A penance was imposed upon the laymen suitable to their age and strength. After the pope had sufficiently tried their obedience, they were called into his presence, pardoned and dismissed with the stern injunction not to exchange one word with the king, unless to exhort him to a sincere repentance for the injuries done to the apostolic see:

A more illustrious victim was now offered for sacrifice at the altar of papal pride. Not to frown destruction to the upstart arrogance of a violent monk, not to extinguish, by a word, the audacity of his partizans, but to bend with lowly reverence to his commands, and to sue for his forgiveness and friendship, king Henry approached the fortress of Canossa. An interview was first sought and obtained with the countess Matilda. Her interest was procured⁸⁹, and to the inexpressi-

⁸⁹ See Mellini, Trattato dell' Origine, Fatti, Costumi, e Lodi Matelda la gran Contessa d'Italia, Fir Giunt. 1580. p. 75.

ble joy of Henry, she stood before the pope with the old marquis Albert-Azon⁹⁰ the second, and other chief princes of Italy, to plead for his absolution: Gregory appeared at first inexorable to their request; but as an obstinate refusal might have been eventually dangerous to his own interest, he consented to their wishes, upon the preposterous conditions that Henry should lay at his feet, his crown and other ensigns of royalty, and acknowledge that his offence, to the apostolic see, had rendered him unworthy of the titles and honours of a king. But the demand appeared too extravagant even in the eyes of the partizans of Gregory; and, upon their remonstrances, he at last agreed, but with visible reluctance, that the king should atone for his crime by submission. The fortress of Canossa was surrounded with a triple wall; within the second, Henry was permitted to enter, upon dismissing his train, and there anxiously waited, as a suppliant, barefooted, and clothed in a coarse garment, the commands of his papal master. Three days, in the month of January, the king continued this abject behaviour, his body, and

⁹⁰ This common parent of the Italian and German princes, of the related branches of Este and Brunswick, was above eighty at the time of this occurrence. Muratori informs us that his life exceeded an hundred years—a very remarkable instance of longevity in a prince. See *Antichità Estensi*, Med. 1717, cap. xxviii. p. 274.

his

his mind weakened by a most rigid abstinence : on the fourth, after receiving these aggravated marks of insolence and scorn, the pride⁹¹ of this servant of Servants was sufficiently abated to admit Henry to an audience ; and never perhaps was royalty more humbled than when the king subscribed to the following tyrannical terms, before he obtained his absolution. “ That he should come before a general diet of the German princes, at whatever time and place the pope should appoint, to answer, in his presence, the accusations brought against him. That if innocent, he should keep his crown ; if guilty he should resign it without a murmur ; but whether he preserved or lost his throne, he should commit no revenge upon his accusers. That till his acquittal, or condemnation were pronounced, he should divest himself of every mark of royal dignity ; he should in no shape interfere with state affairs, nor should he presume to exact any sum of money from the people, but what was necessary for his household expences. That during this

⁹¹ Gregory, after describing, with a visible satisfaction, the humiliating state of Henry, when imploring for pardon, tells us himself, that some of them who witnessed it, could not refrain from exclaiming, that his conduct, upon this occasion, resembled more the barbarous cruelty of a tyrant, than the just severity of an apostolic judge——“ *nonnulli vero in nobis non Apostolicæ severitatis gravitatem, sed quasi tyrannicæ feritatis crudelitatem esse clamarent.*” Greg. Epist. lib. iv. epist. xii. apud Baron.

time his subjects should be freed from their oath of fidelity before God and men. That he should for ever banish from his counsels and friendship the bishops of Bamberg and Cosheim, and other evil counsellors; and that if he remained in possession of his crown, he should pay a constant submission to the pope, execute all his orders, and contribute with all his power to reform those abuses which he had established in his kingdom against the laws of the church. And, as a fit conclusion for this string of ignominious concessions, it was lastly declared; that if he did not fulfil every one of these conditions, the absolution which he solicited; with so much earnestness, should be deemed void; he should be regarded, as by his own confession; guilty of the charges which were made against him; he should never again be suffered to vindicate his innocence; and all disputes ceasing, the princes of the kingdom, emancipated from their oaths, should proceed with one accord to dispose of the vacant throne.

A.D. 1077.—After this much wished for absolution was granted, the pope celebrated mass. The king and all who were present were commanded to approach the altar; when taking the consecrated host in his hand, and raising up his eyes piously to heaven, he uttered the following words, with all the seeming composure of innocence. "Some time has now elapsed since I received those letters
from

from yourself and partizans, which accuse me of gaining the apostolic seat by simony, and of dishonouring my life with such crimes, before and after my episcopacy, as ought, by the canons, to have stripped me of all pretensions to a sacred character. Now though I could refute irrefragably these calumnies, by the evidence of the most unexceptionable witnesses, I mean by those who are acquainted with my actions from infancy to this advanced period in my life, and those who have been instrumental to my elevation, yet to avoid the imputation of placing more confidence upon the assistance of men than of God, and to stifle every breath of scandal, it is my wish, that the body of our Lord, which I am going to take, may be the test of my innocence, and my guilt be seen in the immediate vengeance of the Almighty." Having finished this remarkable discourse, he swallowed part of the host ; and the people, beholding Gregory survive this perilous trial, burst forth into the most tumultuous shouts of joy. When the popular clamour was sufficiently subsided for the pope to be heard, he proposed to his repentant son a similar mode of justifying himself from those acts of treachery and oppression of which the German princes had so grievously complained. But a proposal so unexpected threw Henry into the greatest confusion ; when however he had recovered his presence of mind, by the advice

of the bishops and nobles, who were spectators of this curious scene, he declined this favourable opportunity of asserting his innocence, under the colourable pretence that both his friends and enemies were absent; and expressed his wish to Gregory, in which the pontiff complied, that his cause should be finally determined by the sentence of the general synod ⁹².

The mean and feeble-spirited behaviour of Henry had now so much enraged the Lombard lords, that, in the height of their resentment, they even meditated to renounce his authority, and place his son, though an infant, upon the throne which he had so much dishonoured. To prevent his party following a step so dangerous to his interests, and humiliating to his pride, he was obliged, in order to regain their lost confidence, to embrace the bold measure of recalling into his presence the bishops and laymen whom the pope had forced him to banish; expressly to declare his determination not to appear at the diet of Augsburg; earnestly exhorting them to unite with him in the revenge of their mutual injuries ⁹³.

As soon as the German princes had learnt that Henry repented of his engagements with the pope, and had thrown himself upon the protection of

⁹² See Lambert Schaff, apud Baronium, tom. xi. p. 492, 493, 494, 495.

⁹³ Lambert Schaff, apud Baronium, tom. xi. p. 498, 498.

the

the Lombards, with little or no recollection of the bloody consequences which would ensue, they assembled at Forcheim, and bestowed upon Rodolph, duke of Suabia, the titles and powers of a sovereign⁹⁴. In this election, Gregory has been represented by the voice of faction to have taken a most active part: but without grounding our disbelief of Gregory's interference upon his own assertions, we shall presume to think that the whole transaction was displeasing to the views of that crafty and aspiring politician. Instead of beholding Henry and his nation reduced to an absolute state of dependence upon him (for that such were his aims we need only inspect his letters⁹⁵); he was now placed in a situation in which it was difficult to pursue his schemes without hazarding his own safety. If he openly countenanced the pretensions of Rodolph, he made Henry his irreconcilable enemy; and if he espoused the cause of the latter, he incurred the risk of having his late presumption punished on the first moment his arms should have obtained any solid and permanent advantage. On each side therefore the springs of the machine of papal policy were thrown into disorder, and it required no small effort of skill.

⁹⁴ Paul Bernried. cap. xcvi.

⁹⁵ Greg. Epist. lib. iv. epist. xxiii, xxiv. apud Baronium, tom. xi. p. 503, 504.

to restore them again to their proper force and direction.

A. D. 1010.—Encouraged still however in his wild plan of ruling over Germany, with an absolute sway, from the defeat which Henry had experienced at Fladenheim⁹⁶, by the well-judged manœuvres of the usurper Rodolph⁹⁷, and highly displeased that Henry should again forfeit his promise of submitting his cause to his decision⁹⁸, he no longer hesitated to assemble a council at Rome, in which, after reiterating his former sentences against lay investitures, and declaring, with an unexampled audacity, that if any emperor, king, duke, marquis, or count, should dare to grant the investiture of a bishopric, or any other ecclesiastical dignity, they should not escape the punishment of excommunication⁹⁹; he deposed Henry, and sent a golden crown to Rodolph, with this inscription, "*Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema*

⁹⁶ See Bruno, *Historia Belli Saxonici*.

⁹⁷ The military genius of Rodolph must have been great indeed, if his accomplices were more adapted to chaunt psalms than to design the plan of a battle. See *Hist. des Papes*, tom. ii. p. 470. M. De Heiss asserts, in his *Hist. de l'Empire*, tom. i. liv. ii. p. 241, that Rodolph was defeated. He has the misfortune however of being singular in this assertion.

⁹⁸ Bower, *Hist. of the Popes*, vol. v. p. 276.

⁹⁹ Paul Bernried. cap. cvii.

Rodolpho,

Rodolpho ¹⁰⁰," to denote, in the fullest manner, the acknowledgment of his claims.

Henry had now so often deceived the pope, that it would have been the height of folly in him to have imagined that Gregory would again listen to any terms of accommodation. The only road therefore left open to him for success, was to prepare for a constant succession of vigorous measures. Accordingly he summoned a council to meet him at Brixen in the province of Tyrol, composed of a considerable number of Italian and German princes and bishops, when he boldly arraigned the tyranny and wickedness of Gregory, annulled his power, and nominated to his seat Guibert ¹⁰¹, archbishop of Ravenna. Soon after this occurrence the prospects of Henry brightened. In a battle, long, various, and bloody, on the banks of the Elster ¹⁰², in the bishopric of Naumburg, his for-

¹⁰⁰ Otto, Frising. de gestis Freder. I. lib. i. cap. vii. p. 4. Goldastus, Replicatio pro Cæsare et Regia Francorum Majestate contra Gretserum, p. 18. Baronius, Annales Eccles. tom. xi. p. 532. Cave, Historia Literaria, pars ii. p. 366.

¹⁰¹ Fleury, Hist. Eccles. tom. xiii. liv. lxxiii. p. 403. St. Marc, Abregé Chronologique, tom. iv. p. 785. Hist. des Papes, tom. ii. p. 471. Heiss, Hist. de l'Empire, tom. ii. liv. ii. p. 242. Pfeffel, Abregé Chronologique d'Allemagne, tom. i. p. 218. Maimbourg, Hist. de la Decadence de l'Empire, p. 279.

¹⁰² Bruno, Historia Saxon.

midable rival Rodolph received a mortal wound in his breast, from the lance of Godfrey of Bouillon, the future chief of the crusades, who bore the great standard of the empire on that perilous day¹⁰³. The boldness of Gregory was not checked, though the war was suspended by the untimely death of this prince. Without the least symptoms of hesitation, he exhorted Germany to make another choice; and for this successor of Rodolph, he transmitted the form of an oath to be taken on his election, by which they might have clearly discovered his intention, of bestowing and resuming the western empire as a fief of the apostolic see¹⁰⁴. While four years after the death of Rodolph¹⁰⁵, the same man who had waited as a suppliant three days before he could be admitted into the presence

¹⁰³ See Guill. Tyrius, *Historia Belli sacri*, lib. x. cap. viii, p. 150.

¹⁰⁴ "Ab hora et deinceps fidelis ego per rectam fidem Beato Petro Apostolo, ejus vicario Papæ Gregorio, qui nunc in carne vivit, et quodcunque ipse Papa præceperit sub his videlicet verbis, per *veram obedientiam*, et fideliter, sicut oportet christianum observabo. Et eo die, quando illum primitus videro, fideliter per manus meas miles S. Petri et illius efficiar." *Greg. Epist. lib. viii. epist. iii. apud Baron. p. 551.*

¹⁰⁵ See Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* tom. xiii. liv. lxiii. p. 436. St. Marc, tom. iv. p. 816. Heiss, *Hist. de l'Empire*, tom. i. p. 245. Pfeffel, *Abregé Chronologique d'Allemagne*, tom. i. p. 219. Maimbourg, *Hist. de la Decadence, de l'Empire*, liv. ii. p. 285.

of Gregory, by the instability of fortune, was saluted, in the city of Rome, with the title of emperor, and placed, with his own hand, the archbishop of Ravenna upon the papal throne.

The situation of Gregory, when the conqueror had planted his standard on the walls of Rome, affords an edifying lesson to those, who, in a presumptuous confidence of their abilities, are apt to forget, or unwilling to allow how soon the hand of chance will disconcert the wisest schemes of human policy. Shut up in the castle of St. Angelo, to which he had retired before the entrance of Henry into Rome, and cut off from all communication with Matilda, who had spent in vain so much blood and treasure, and displayed an heroism¹⁰⁶ above her sex, to stop the full tide of Henry's success, he must now, in his turn, have been compelled to sue for pardon and peace, if Robert Guiscard, the conqueror of Naples, had not started up the guardian angel of his person and power. In the beginning of his pontificate Gregory had excommunicated this renowned warrior, for presuming to invade the city of Benevento, which

¹⁰⁶ When Urban VIII. was seated in the papal chair, he still found time and subjects to employ his poetic muse ; and among the several pieces which he produced after his elevation, his ode to the memory of Matilda exhibits no mean example of his lyric skill. The second antistrophe thus celebrates her

which had been transferred by gift or exchange from the German emperor to the Roman pontiff. Suspecting however that the election of Rodolph would terminate in a quarrel with Henry, which might require the assistance of more force than Matilda could bring into the field, he prudently sought to conciliate the friendship of Robert, by revoking his papal interdict, and investing him with the dukedoms of Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, for which he promised to do homage to Gregory, and the apostolic see, to stand forth the champion of the patrimony of the church, and to maintain

prudence in preventing disputes, her active courage when engaged in them, and her invincible temper of mind when misfortune followed her standard.

*“ La valorosa Donna con consiglio
 “ Le contese troncò ; ma tosto sorse
 “ Nuovo, e maggior periglio
 “ Onde con l'armi incontro à danni corse.
 “ Duri casi affrontò ; ma dielle al male
 “ Il Ciel possanza eguale,
 “ Ch'il sacro seggio da mortali offese
 “ Cor cuor' ardito e invitta man difese :
 “ Da generoso sdegno
 “ Spinta s'oppose all'inimico stuolo,
 “ Che l'Italico suolo
 “ Scorrea, qual fiume, che senza ritegno
 “ Sgorgando fuor dell' una e l'altra sponda,
 “ Impetuoso le campagne inonda.*

the

the freedom and independence of the papal election, in case he survived his holy ally ¹⁰⁷.

A. D. 1084.—No sooner than he was apprised of Gregory's danger, than, mindful of his oath, he hastened to his relief, and, by his single efforts, succeeded in rendering him again the master of Rome. But as the people ¹⁰⁸, tired out by the violent and imperious government of Gregory, still discovered the lurking spirit of rebellion, it was the proposal
of

¹⁰⁷ See Giannone, *Istoria civile de Napoli*, tom. ii. lib. x: cap. v. p. 85. Baronius, tom. xi. p. 537, 538. These verses however tell us, that Gregory promised the imperial crown in return for the vows of friendship made by Guiscard:—

“ Dux Papa jurat, fuerit dum vita superstes,
“ Observaturum fidei, se jura perennis
“ Ecclesia sanctæ, totus cui subjacerit orbis;
“ Romani regni sibi promississe coronam
“ Papa ferebatur.”

See Guill. Appulus de Normannis, apud Muratori *Rer. Ital. Script.* tom. v. p. 270.

¹⁰⁸ Mellini, p. 81. The character of Gregory suffered very much in the public estimation, from the following attempt upon Henry's life, during his victorious visit to Rome. It was the daily custom of Henry to repair to a small church on Mount Aventine to perform his devotions; a villain who had watched his visits, placed a large stone upon a beam of the ceiling, with the design of throwing it down upon his head, when he had taken his accustomed seat in the church. The weight of the stone however happened to overbalance the fellow, in directing his aim, and thus the emperor, very fortunately, escaped unhurt. The rage of the
people.

of the restorer of his liberty that he should accompany him to Salerno; the acquiescence of Gregory reveals at once his fears, and diminished authority. In this retreat he died; though the cautious historian will hesitate to pronounce whether his dissolution was embittered by the remembrance of his persecution to Henry¹⁰⁹, or viewed with tranquillity, from the consciousness of a life spent in the service of religion and justice¹¹⁰.



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people, when they heard of this affair, was soon fatal to the man, nor did they scruple to accuse the pope of being the secret promoter of this attempt. See *Hist. des Papes*, tom. ii. p. 486. But Maimbourg tells us, that Henry justified the pope upon this occasion; and declared, "il avoit l'ame trop grande, trop hautaine, pour etre capable d'une si noire et si detestable action." See *Hist. de la Decadence de l'Empire*, liv. ii. p. 288.

¹⁰⁹ Sigebert, a modest defender of Henry, and an exact historian, relates in his *Chronicon ad Ann. 1085*, p. 101, that Gregory, truly repentant of the offences which he had committed in his pontificate, absolved, in his dying moments, that prince, and all christians from the excommunications which he had hurled against them. "Dimisit ac dissolvit vincula omnium bannorum sui Imperatori, et omni Populo Christiano, vivis et defunctis, Clericis et Laicis."

¹¹⁰ That fanatical partizan of Gregory, Paul Bernriedensis, asserts, that in his last illness he exclaimed to the cardinals and bishops

HAVING now examined with attention the principles which guided Gregory, during the whole course of his tyrannical reign, it may form no wearisome task to the reader to follow us in our survey of the vast circle of country which that imperious man laboured, with a fanatical zeal, to render obedient to his sovereign mandate. Nor will it be construed into a fault of any magnitude, by the judicious, if, upon this occasion, the order of time be superseded by the advantage of marshalling the states in that array which seems best suited to their progressive power and influence.

Christianity was introduced in Britain under the spiritual arms of Gregory the first¹. The dark

bishops standing around him, “Ego fratres mei dilectissimi nullos labores meos alicujus momenti facio, in hoc uno solummodo confidens, quod semper dilexi justitiam, et odio iniquitatem habui.” Cap. cviii. The Neapolitan painter must be allowed, by impartial judges, to have been happily expressive with his pencil of the character of Gregory, when he thus delineated him:—“averere nella sinistra mano il pastorale co’ pesci, nella destra, alzata in alto di percolare, una terribile scuriada, e sotto i piedi scettri, e corone Imperiali, e Regali, in atto di flagerllargli.” Giannone, *Istoria Civile de Napoli*. tom. ii. lib. x. cap. vi. p. 89.

¹ See Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica Anglorum*, Lov. 1566, lib. ii. p. 53.

superstition

superstition of the English, at that period in the most infant state of civil life, however unfavourable to the genuine spirit of religious worship², yet greatly augmented the influence of the Roman pontiffs; we behold them soon after their conversion, eager to pay a most implicit obedience. Before that ugly-headed monster, the Heptarchy, was destroyed by the sword of Egbert, Offa, who ruled the Mercians, to atone for the treacherous murder of Ethelred, king of East Anglia, repaired to Rome, and promised to make its priestly ruler, an annual donation for the support of the English college there, and to fulfil this engagement, he laid the tax of a penny on each house possessed of thirty-pence a year³. The appeal which Wilfrid, bishop of Lindisferne, and sole prelate of the Northumbrian kingdom, made to Agatho, in the eighth century, against the decision of Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, and an English synod, furnished the Roman see with another opportunity, which its artful genius so well knew how to

² How incapable Gregory conceived his proselytes of comprehending the simple and instructive doctrines of christianity, may be judged from this advice to his missionary Augustine, "Et quia boves solent in sacrificio dæmonum multos occidere," let them sacrifice as many "*ad laudem Dei*." Bede, Hist. Eccles. lib. i. cap. xxx. p. 43.

³ Matthew Westmonast. Flores Historiarum ad Ann. 725, p. 137. Spelman, Concilia, &c. Lond. 1639, vol. i. p. 210, 211—290, 291.

improve

improve, of exerting the influence which she daily acquired over the English, with equal boldness and success. Envied by Egifrid and his queen⁴, for the pomp of his retinue, and the splendid style of his living, and no less insulted than curtailed of his revenue and power by Theodore, from the erection of three bishoprics in his diocese without his knowledge, much less his consent, to be revenged on them both, he resorted to this rash proceeding. Agatho failed not to give a most gracious hearing to the cause of Wilfrid; while his policy employed every expedient⁵ to establish this appeal to his tribunal. In the same submissive track England continued, the popes exerting all their address to regulate her spiritual movements to their will, till William the conqueror mounted the throne, whose foresight and vigour, extent of power, and success in arms, rendered him a shining figure⁶ in our English annals. Elated by the many proofs of
regal

⁴ Spelman, *Concilia*, vol. i. p. 157.

⁵ See the *Decretalis Epist. Agathonis*, in Spelman, vol. i. p. 162.

⁶ In the *Hist. Litteraire de la France*, tom viii. p. 173, William is styled "le protecteur des lettres, et de ceux qui les cultivoient." High as the reputation of the authors of this voluminous work stand for extent of research, and accuracy of information, we are much inclined to dispute the authenticity of this assertion, for it is not to be supposed that the patronage of letters, which would form so pleasing and striking a feature
in

regal obsequiousness to his will, Gregory⁷ ventured a letter to this prince, in which he required him to do homage for the kingdom of England; as a fief of the apostolic see; and to transmit to him the tribute, which former sovereigns had been accustomed to pay to the successors of St. Peter.

By this tribute, he meant that commonly denominated Peter's pence⁸, or Rome-scot, which was first levied by Ina, king of the west Saxons; according to that accurate historian, Matthew of Westminster⁹, in the year 727, for the wise and charitable purpose of establishing a college at Rome, where the youth of his kingdom might acquire the rudiments of learning, and for the reception of those subjects whose devotion should lead them to visit the tombs of the apostles.

in the character of William, would have escaped the pen of Hume, in summing up the virtues and defects of his memorable reign.

⁷ See Mosheim, p. 402, note g.

⁸ This imposition, so named from being collected on the festival of St. Peter, in vinculis (See Polydore Virgil, *Anglica Historia*, Bas. 1570, lib. v. p. 96, 97), which at first was conferred as a gift by the English monarchs, though afterwards claimed as a tribute by the presumptuous boldness of the Roman pontiffs, became a general tax throughout England till the time of Henry the eighth, whose rupture with the pope released the people from this odious burthen. Polydore Virgil (lib. iv. p. 89, 90), came over to England as the collector of this tax.

⁹ Flores Hist. p. 137.

The answer of William manifested that high spirit of independence, and solidity of judgment, which deservedly entitled him to the great station he filled in the eyes of Europe. He declared his intention of not withholding the money from Gregory, but he emphatically assured the pontiff, that he had never promised, nor would he be induced, upon any consideration, to acknowledge himself and his dominions subject to the see of Rome; for none of his predecessors had ever so humbled themselves as to comply with this demand¹⁰. Exasperated by the arrogance of the claim, and determined to shew the pope, that he had sagacity to discern his aspiring views, and spirit enough to resist them, William would not allow any papal letters or bulls to be received in his kingdom, unless approved by himself, or the bishops of England to attend the general councils at Rome, which he so frequently summoned during the course of his pontificate. Such a resolution must have convinced even the stubborn mind of Gregory, that the attempt was impracticable of adding England as a glorious acquisition to the list of his spiritual conquests.

¹⁰ This letter of William's the reader will find in Collier's Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain; Lond. 1708, in the Collection of Records, No. xii. p. 713. At this distance of time it is curious and worthy of perusal.

Under the same impudent pretext of universal dominion, Gregory laboured, with all his power, to extort the payment of an annual tribute from the people of France. His legates were enjoined to claim from the French, on their true obedience, that the yearly sum of a penny at least should be paid to St. Peter, if they acknowledged him for their father and pastor according to the ancient custom¹¹. The pretensions of Gregory to this contribution, were founded on the book of the emperor Charlemagne, lodged in the archives of St. Peter; which said, that he collected annually, for the service of the apostolic see, twelve hundred pounds, in these three places, Aix la Chapelle, Pay in Velai, and St. Gilles; without enumerating those offerings which were voluntarily made by private devotion¹². But the French, however prone at that time, to credulity and superstition, and forward in receiving the words of

¹¹ See Mosheim, p. 402, note g.

¹² "On ne voit rien de ces collectes, ni dans les capitulaires de Charlemagne, ni dans les histoires et les autres monumens de son tems; mais on pouvoit avoir fabriqué de faux titres pendant les deux siècles suivans." Such is the opinion of Fleury (*Hist. Eccles.* tom. xiii. liv. lxiii. p. 416), whose evidence may be fairly admitted upon this occasion. St. Marc supposes, with reason, that the French spirit turned this proposition of the legates into ridicule—"et que tout ce qu'ils en retirent fut quelque *Vaudeville*." *Abregé Chronologique*, tom. iv. p. 800.

the

the pope as a sacred oracle, were not quite so blinded or pious, we believe, as to give their assent to that illusory grant.

Russia, although so remote; and so fixed in her abhorrence to the Romish faith, ever since her conversion to the Greek church¹³, Gregory had the extravagant presumption to think he could cause to tremble, and obey the signet of a fisherman. Isiaslaf, grand prince of Kief, known to foreigners by the name of Demetrius, in the hopes of obtaining friends sufficiently powerful to replace him on a throne; from which he had been driven by the fraudulent and ambitious policy of his brother, repaired himself to Mayence to solicit the assistance of the empéror Henry, and sent his son on the same office to Rome, to bow before the knees of her haughty master¹⁴. The situation of Henry, at that time, rendered him rather an object of distress, than capable of reinstating a sovereign in his dominions. But the pope though no less destitute than Henry was the means of gratifying the real wishes of Isiaslaf, yet embraced, with ardour, this fair prospect (as he thought) that was thrown open to his ambition. Accordingly he addressed a letter to that prince, in these following words. "Your son, who is come to

¹³ See the *Revolutions of Russia*, p. 39—45.

¹⁴ See *Levesque, Histoire de Russie*, tom. ii. p. 170—180—182, 183.

Rome, in order to worship the relics of the apostles, has signified to us his desire of receiving from our hands the sovereignty of Russia, as a present from St. Peter, and likewise of professing his reverence for our authority. He has assured us, that this request meets your approbation; we therefore consider that justice demands of us to turn a willing ear to his prayer, and to grant your estates to him as the gift of St. Peter after your decease ¹⁵."

Spain, the child of superstition, after she had abandoned the embraces of Arianism, and entered the pale of the catholic communion, from the example of her monarch Recared ¹⁶, had ever displayed great filial tenderness to Rome: the claims of Gregory therefore to the payment of an annual tribute ¹⁷, from that country, were neither heard with scorn, nor treated with indifference. But history is silent, or we are ignorant what answer this domineering priest received to his preposterous demand of all Spain submitting to him, as a domain, which owed to him a legal obedience ¹⁸.

But

¹⁵ Epist. Greg. lib. ii. epist. lxxiv. apud Baronium, tom. xi. p. 467, 468.

¹⁶ For this change of the national religion in Spain, see Mariana, *Historia de Espana*, tom. i. lib. v.

¹⁷ Mosheim, p. 402, note g.

¹⁸ Observe the undisguised despotism of the terms. "Gregorius, Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, Regibus, Comitibus, ceterisque

But the pope could not boast that the excessive dogility of Spain was imitated by Denmark, which was first led to profess the Romish faith by the proselytizing spirit, and victorious arms of Otho the great¹⁹. The insatiable ambition of Gregory wished Sueno, or Swein, king of Denmark to make a solemn grant of his dominions to the prince of the apostles, and to hold them under the jurisdiction of his vicar, at Rome, as fiefs of the apostolic see²⁰. But notwithstanding this monarch's attachment to the christian religion, and his profound respect for its ministers²¹, the pope could not prevail on him, or his successors, with all his address, to relinquish their sovereign rights.

Sweden,

ceterisque Hispaniæ Principibus Salutem. Notum vobis fieri volumus Regnum Hispaniæ ex antiquis Constitutionibus D. Petro et Romanæ Ecclesiæ, in jus et proprietatem traditum esse." Lib. iv. epist. xxxi.

¹⁹ When this renowned emperor of Germany spread his conquests to the Slavic nations of the Elbe and Oder, in the treaty of peace which he signed with Harald Blaatand, it was expressly stipulated that he and his subjects should become Christians. See Adam of Bremen. Hist. Eccles. lib. ii cap. ii. apud Lindenbrogium Rerum Script. Rer. Germ. Hamb. 1706, cap. iii. p. 16.

²⁰ Lib. ii. epist. li.

²¹ A remarkable instance of repentance and submission to the church was exhibited by this king, of which there is no parallel in history, as we can recollect, except that furnished by

Sweden, where the downfall of paganism was accomplished in the ninth century, by the pious labours

the emperor Theodosius. Violent in his passions, Sueno had discovered in an entertainment, which he had given to his nobles, that some of them had traduced his character; and his revenge was not satisfied till the following morning, when they were killed by his orders in the cathedral church of Roskild. William, bishop of Roskild, suppressed his feelings of grief, horror, and indignation at this inhuman act, till he could display them with the most striking effect. The time was not long before that opportunity arrived. In the church where the murder was committed, the news came to him, that the king was proceeding to his seat. He stirred not from his place till Sueno prepared to enter the church. Then he advanced with a firm look, and stopped him with his cross, which he pointed against his breast, and treating him as if he was an executioner come to shed human blood, pronounced his excommunication. The guards of Sueno enraged at this insult, would have punished the audacity of the prelate with instant death; but the king, sensible of his heinous crime, interposed his authority and returned to his palace, where he stripped off his regal garments, and assumed the habit of penitence. In the meantime, the bishop was beginning to perform mass, when he was informed that the royal sinner appeared at the entrance of the church, in a suppliant posture. The bishop came forth to meet him. The king, in tears, humbly intreated for pardon, which was at last granted by this *Ambrosius* of the north. Three days after this memorable scene, Sueno repaired to the cathedral in his ensigns of royalty, and, during mass, ascended the pulpit: when silence being proclaimed by his herald, he publicly confessed the enormity of his offence, commended
the

bours of the missionary St. Amsgar²², particularly known under the title of the apostle of the north, and Norway, where christianity was enforced by the sword of her king and apostle Olaus²³, to judge from the epistles of Gregory, which may be considered as no bad criterion of his intentions, were likewise destined to compose parts of that mighty chain of power, which he so vainly flattered himself to extend all over the world.

Hungary²⁴, which first saw the gospel take a permanent root under the provident care of Stephen the first, was not forgotten in the map of homage, or regal humiliation, drawn out by the despotic hand of the pontiff. Salomon, king of Hungary, and husband of Judith, sister to Henry of Germany, had been dethroned by his kinsman Geisa, in the year 1104. The usurper, to establish his

the indulgence of the bishop, and, to expiate the guilt of of homicide, presented to the church half the province of Steffen. The reader will observe that to reduce this interesting story, as much as possible to the size of a note, I have purposely passed over in silence those parts of it which appear inconsiderable. For this extraordinary anecdote, consult Saxo Grammaticus, *Historia Danica*, Par. 1514, lib. xi.

²² See *Vita S. Anscharii*, conscripta a S. Remberto. p. 56. *Histoire Litteraire de la France*, tom. v. p. 277, &c.

²³ See Adam of Bremen, *Historia Ecclesiastica*. lib. ii. apud Lindenbrogium, *Script. Rer. Germ.*

²⁴ Mosheim, p. 356, 357.

doubtful power, very wisely courted the friendship of Rome; and the pope, who was always lenient to the crime of rebellion, when it promoted his own sway, promises Geisa, in one of his epistles, with all the bowels and affection of a father, to assist him in every measure beneficial to his safety and honour; assuring him also, that if his enemies conspire to replace their rightful sovereign, they should not only be refused an audience, but feel the weight of apostolic indignation. But these expressions of support would never have dropped from his pen, if the impolitic Salomon, in the view of being speedily restored to the honours of his throne had not professed to hold his crown as a vassal of Henry. By this conduct he became not more guilty in the eyes of the church, than of his people; and no recantation of his error could ever prevail on the former; no deeds of violence could ever force the latter, to admit him again to the exercise of his authority. But if Gregory had engaged to shew Geisa the affection of a parent, he expected, in return, to receive the obedience of a son; while any omission of that duty, on his part, Geisa well knew, would be attended with the immediate consequences of destruction to his new erected power. "We believe you are not ignorant," exclaimed this deposer of kingdoms. "that every state, though separately

separately free from each other, looks up to the Roman church as its universal mother, who treats not her subjects as slaves, but regards them all as her children. Nor can you also fail to know" says Gregory, in another letter, "that for despising the rights of St. Peter, the prince of apostles, and making his submission to the king of Germany, your kinsman Salomon is now only left with the name of a sovereign, while, by the judgment of the Lord, you are removed to his station. We require therefore, if you entertain the idea of being worthy the favour of the Roman see, to be convinced by your actions, what is your devotion for the universal mother, and in what way you are resolved to pay her that obedience, and holy respect, to which she is entitled²⁵." From the sense of this last passage, and of several others, which from their tedious prolixity, are designedly omitted, a very fair presumption will arise that Gregory supposed the grateful attachment of Geisa would be manifested in the avowal of his dependence on the thiara, and consequently in the payment of an annual tribute.

The sacred waters of baptism were sprinkled on the heads of Barziwoi²⁶, duke of Bohemia, his

²⁵ See St. Marc, *Abregé Chronologique*, tom. iii. p. 622—624—672—674—676.

²⁶ See *Historia Bohemica*, lib. i. p. 23. *Dubravio auctore Episcopi Omulcenses apud Freherum Rerum Boheicarum Scriptores aliquot insigni*. Hanov. 1602.

wife, and his counts, in the ninth century by the pious hands of the Greek missionaries, Methodius and Cyril. After our view of Gregory's life, the reader will not be surprised, that this kingdom was destined, by the rapacious monarch, to be incorporated into his system of universal monarchy. In this complimentary epistle of the pope to Vratislas, who obtained the title of king of Bohemia²⁷ from Henry, and the domains of Lusatia, Moravia, and Silesia, we perceive at once the extent of papal influence, the grossness of papal imposition, and the triumph of papal avarice. "Your legate has appeared before us with proofs of the greatness of your devotion and fidelity, he has justly paid to us the money which you sent to St. Peter, under the title of rent, I mean the hundred marks of silver, according to the standard weight of your country; accept our gratitude, and believe that we embrace your charity with greater ardour and friendship, because it is apparent that you are more and more urged by your inclinations to respect the apostolic see: the blessed St. Peter, whom you love, and before whose name you have humbled the pride of your power, will doubtless prepare innumerable gifts for your reward; and by his protection secure your present and future happiness²⁸."

²⁷ *Historia Bohemica*, lib. ix. p. 69.

²⁸ *Epist. Greg.* lib. ii. ep. vii, apud Baron. tom. xi. p. 427.

By the hand of a female, the seeds of christianity were sown in Poland. The daughter²⁹ of the duke of Bohemia, and wife of Micislaus, duke of Poland, laboured, with an unremitting zeal, till she engaged her husband to embrace her religious principles; whose example, after the different experiments of punishment and reward were tried, finally produced the conversion of his subjects. So glaring an indication of tyranny, in every point of view, was given by Gregory against this country, that, by comparison, we may almost esteem his conduct, to other potentates, coloured with moderation. If we listen to the voice of truth or prejudice, Boleslas the second, king of Poland, surnamed the intrepid, was at once the hero and scourge of his country³⁰. But when the former was

²⁹ Mosheim, p. 355, 356.

³⁰ Russia, Prussia, and Bohemia, were the theatres on which his arms were the most prosperous, and cruelties conspicuous. It is related, but with what degree of truth it is difficult to determine, that the troops of Boleslas, after their victorious entrance into Kief, abandoned themselves entirely to their sensual pleasures, and their wives, on the first discovery of their behaviour, imitated their licentious example. That the men hastened home to avenge their disgrace, without the knowledge of Boleslas, who, enraged at being almost left alone, punished those who fled with death, while he sentenced the women, to suckle and to carry some puppies publicly in their arms, instead of the children which had sprung from their unlawful embraces. See St. Marc, *Abregé Chronologique*, tom. iv. p. 889.

entirely

entirely absorbed in the latter character, Stanislaus, bishop of Cracow, ventured to point to him the duties of a christian and king; a law-suit arose against the bishop from this remonstrance, instead of the king's amendment. The right of Stanislaus was however established; and the thunders of the church, which this bold prelate hurled against the monarch, were the retaliation for his malice. This excommunication, engendered in the breast of Boleslas the spirit of revenge, and that of the blackest kind: he repaired to a chapel in which the bishop was performing his devotions, and there sullied his fame for ever by becoming the assassin of Stanislaus. When the news came to Gregory of this rash and fatal deed, his rage knew no bounds. He excommunicated and deposed Boleslas. He laid the whole kingdom under an interdict, and absolved all the people from their oaths of allegiance; while the accomplices of the king, in this murder, and their descendants, even to the *fourth generation*, were declared by the same authority incapable of holding any dignity. Nor was the sword of ecclesiastical tyranny here sheathed by the vindictive pope. The bishops of Poland were positively forbidden to elect a new king without his express consent. While by the same lawless stretch of power, the degraded state was obliged to pay into the

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the papal treasury the annual tribute of an hundred marks of silver³¹.

Without reckoning Corsica, Sardinia, Dalmatia, and Saxony³², as the liberal and loyal servants of the pope; without noticing his excommunication of Nicephorus³³, emperor of the east; without declaring that from the superstition of the countess Matilda, and the policy of the Norman adventurers putting their conquests under the protection of St. Peter, almost the whole of Italy bowed to the imperious decrees of the Vatican, we shall presume to think that enough has been written to expose the extortion and presumption of Gregory, which stand as monuments to instruct mankind, and to immortalize his name in the annals of ecclesiastical ambition.

The stupendous revolutions primarily effected in empires by the efforts of single minds, are such in their operation and extent as must utterly

³¹ See St. Marc, *Abregé Chronologique*, tom. iv. p. 891—893; and Greg. *Epist.* lib. ii. *epist.* vii.

³² *Hist. des Papes*, tom. ii. p. 479—482.

³³ In the year 1071, Nicephorus Botanites, drove the pusillanimous Michael from the throne of Constantinople. See Gibbon, vol. ix. p. 79, 80. In this act of Gregory's, the traits of the politician were predominant.—“Gregorie en se melant d'une affaire, qui ne le regardoit pas, cherchoit á se rapprocher du Du Robert Guiscard, dont nous avons vu la fille aînée mariée au fils de l'Empereur Michael. St. Marc, tom. iv. p. 759.

amaze,

amaze, and confound the reason of the philosopher and statesman. Had not wars interfered, and interests clashed; had not princes risen of sufficient boldness and ability to resist the arms and usurpations of the church, and to disturb its counsels, the system of universal dominion³⁴,

³⁴ Every reader, conversant with the history of Gregory, must have heard of that famous piece, under the title of *Dictatus Hildebrandini*, which may be found in the second book of his Epistles, and which has been ascribed by Baropius and others to the pen of that pontiff. Certainly several of its sentiments are perfectly congenial to the character of the pope, and have been illustrated by his actions. For instance, how well do the following sentences accord with his mind and conduct. The Roman pontiff alone should be styled *Universal Bishop*. *He alone can depose absent bishops. All princes are to kiss his feet; and to pay that mark of distinction to him alone. It is lawful for him to depose absent bishops. No general council is to be assembled without his order. His judgment no man can reverse; but he can reverse all other judgments. The pope can absolve subjects from the oath of allegiance which they have taken to a bad prince.* But after balancing, with an impartial hand, the dissonant opinions of the popish and protestant critics upon this much agitated question, I cannot consent to view the *Dictatus Hildebrandini* as a precious legacy of Gregory's to the Roman church, but rather as the production of some obscure priest, who has thought to acquire celebrity by extracting these apothegms from his epistles, and by ushering them, into the world, under this name. In this opinion, I am partly fortified by the authority of Mosheim. "*Quare puto, hominem quemdam excerptisse ex epistolis ejus partim aut latentibus aut amissis, fortassis etiam ex ore ejus, has sententias atque nullo delectu et ordine litteris mandasse.*" p. 407, note f.

bequeathed

bequeathed by Gregory to his successors, would have retained such durability; in all its parts, internal and external, that perhaps it might have been the fate of the present kings of the earth to have held their charter of dominion, by no firmer and more honourable tenure than their obedience to the Roman Pontiff.





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